

ABSTRACT

BREAKING THE CULTURE OF ETHNIC HOSTILITY IN KENYA

A NATIONAL RECONCILIATION STRATEGY

by

Geoffrey Kamau Njuguna

The objective of this study was to develop a clear and practical strategy on how the church in Kenya could engage in national reconciliation, with a view of overcoming negative ethnicity that degenerates to strife and hostilities during elections.

I carried out an exploratory survey by use of a guided questionnaire that highlighted the perceived issues of conflicts. My participants were national leaders from the church, the political class, and the corporate. I collected data from sixty-five respondents half of whom were professionals. I conducted interviews with key church leaders and did a brainstorming round table consultation with fourteen leaders representing all the three categories above.

I established that the highest percentage of the participants believe that differences amongst the political class posed the greatest threat to national reconciliation. Some of the key factors causing ethnic hostility are land ownership and distribution, inequitable distribution of national resources, and widespread unemployment.

The church needs to enjoin the government's effort in addressing the social challenges of the society such as unemployment and develop interdenominational forums in all the forty-seven newly constituted counties that will strengthen ethnic integration and develop sustainable structures of national reconciliation and healing. The church should also hold the government accountable for the provisions in the constitution.

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled
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A NATIONAL RECONCILIATION STRATEGY

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM

Introduction

Kenya is a young democracy, having obtained independence from the British in 1963, which is relatively recent compared to some western countries like the United States of America and Canada. Despite Kenya's ethnic challenges, Kenyans have coexisted peacefully since attaining independence, with ethnic tensions rising only during and around election time. Regrettably, Kenyan politicians have antagonized Kenyans along ethnic lines since the introduction of multi-party politics in 1992. The ethnic conflicts that generate hostility are most unfortunate and deserve condemnation by all peace loving Kenyans. After the disputed 2007 presidential elections, ethnic hostility left close to one thousand five hundred people dead, and over half a million Kenyans displaced, their houses and businesses burned and looted, all in the name of politically instigated ethnic conflicts.

A statement dated 4 August 2010 and captured in the *Daily Nation* released the shocking brutal facts of the assessed outcome of the post election violence as follows- The Post 2007 Election Violence (PEV) led to destruction of property, loss of lives, **663,921** people displaced and about **78,254** houses destroyed country wide. An addition **640** households fled into Uganda.

A total of **350,000** IDPs [internally displaced persons] sought refuge in **118** camps whereas about 313,921 IDPs were integrated within communities across the country. (Office of the President 1)

This glaring truth will always be an indictment to all the leaders who sponsored and financed this wanton destruction of both lives and properties in the name of a political contest.

Whereas most Kenyans appreciate the fact that the government should maintain law and order, I am convinced that the church has a God given responsibility to teach values that enhance unity in diversity and strengthen national reconciliation, by breaking down the walls of ethnic hostilities and racial prejudice.

The church has an obligation before God to become the salt of the nation, to preserve it from corruption, and to season it with the grace of God. The church has a duty to nurture goodwill amongst all citizens and to teach the fear of God. The church also has a duty to advocate for peaceful coexistence across the political divide and to remind all Kenyans that Kenya is one country blessed with many ethnic groups.

The church has an obligation to promote the philosophy of Jesus Christ who commanded people to love one another and to advance his teachings, as did John, whose epistle's theme is love, saying, "Whoever hates his brother is a murderer" (1 John 3:15, NKJV). God's will is for his people to "pursue peace with all men, and holiness without which no one shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14).

This research focused on developing a strategy to strengthen national reconciliation. The study recommends the formulation of structures that can be transferable for use in other countries facing similar problems. I have tailored the recommendations to fit different cultures.

I released the "National Reconciliation Strategy Proposal" to church leaders countrywide, who used it to teach their congregants what role to play in rebuilding a culture of love, peace, and unity and how to restore Kenya's lost glory. The final document will also be useful to government officials charged with the responsibility of peace building, particularly amongst the warring communities.

I requested the denominational leaders to instruct all those under their jurisdiction to promote a culture of peaceful coexistence, appreciating the fact that “we are better together than we are apart.” God has promised to command a blessing upon those who will dwell in unity according to Psalm 133:1,3b: “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. For there the Lord commands the blessings, even life forevermore.” It God’s desire to for the peoples of Kenya to dwell together in unity, but this unity will become real when we learn to embrace each other across our different ethnic backgrounds.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this exploratory study was to develop a strategy paper proposal on how Deliverance Church Langata, a cosmopolitan church situated in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya, would serve as a sample of what the national church could do, to establish a mechanism to restore and sustain national reconciliation, and break down the wall of negative ethnicity. I carried out the study with the help of a caucus group of twelve leaders from my congregation who served as a think tank towards the development of the paper. Each member of the team had to have demonstrated objectivity in the manner they addressed political issues as an essential requirement. The strategy paper proposal was the final product after conducting the final research.

Research Questions

The research guide to this study had to answer the following questions.

Research Question #1

What are the factors that contribute to ethnic conflicts and hostilities evidenced by violence in Kenya’s electoral processes?

Research Question #2

What are the factors that influence and promote negative ethnicity in Kenya?

Research Question #3

What is the role of the church in national reconciliation, and what structures are essential for sustaining an integrated country?

Definition of Terms

The following defined words will be used throughout the dissertation and wherever they are used, their intended meaning is what is provided in this section.

Ethnicity

The word ethnicity describes the different people groups. An ethnic group in the Kenyan context refers to a people group who share a common culture and vernacular language. I believe that negative and positive ethnicities coincide but one should discard the former and embrace the latter. Most of Kenya's forty-two tribes, especially the minority groups, embrace a belief system to the effect that certain communities or certain ethnic groups, particularly the dominant tribes, benefit more from the government. They claim that their poverty and suffering has resulted from unequal distribution of government resources, favoring the bigger ethnic groups to the detriment of the smaller ones and therefore enhancing ethnic schism.

Positive Ethnicity

Positive ethnicity appreciates Kenya's ethnic diversities and seeks to exploit their distinct strengths to complement each other. Kenya's cultural difference will always add value to national heritage. Positive ethnicity always celebrates Kenya's diversities and seeks to strengthen national cohesion and integration.

Negative Ethnicity

Negative ethnicity retains attitudes that promote antagonism between the different tribes, by pitting one tribe against the other. Negative ethnicity could also refer to the tendency by any of the forty-two asserting itself to lord or control others.

Tribalism

Negative ethnicity and tribalism are synonymous. Several aspects that define tribalism are vernacular language, identity in cultural beliefs and traditional practices, and distinction in food preferences.

National Reconciliation

Development a status in which Kenya's forty-two tribes will covenant with each other as brethren, making commitment between each other, never to promote negative attitudes on tribal lines. The resolution by which the different tribes within Kenya will make to understand each other and live harmoniously in spite of their diversity, appreciating the fact that they all belong to one nation, thereby vowing never to fight each other, nor try to outdo each other in any way.

National Reconciliation Strategy Paper

This *National Reconciliation Strategy Proposal* will be the final document produced, which will have a clear action plan on how the Kenyan church will establish and enhance structures for sustainable peaceful coexistence among the forty-two tribes.

A Descriptive Study

This study was a descriptive study to devise a proposal on *National Reconciliation Strategy* to be a tool in the hands of church leaders throughout Kenya, to promote and sustain peaceful coexistence among the forty-two ethnic groups that

constitute the nation, and to equip their congregants to become agents of national healing from past ethnic conflicts.

Context

During every election since Kenya became a multiparty democracy in 1992, ethnic clashes, over political positions have been the norm rather than the exception. People have fought along ethnic lines over who should take the political seats at all levels of representation. Unfortunately, Kenya, though a small nation, it is divided into eight provincial regions and, according to the register at the Attorney Generals' office, it has more than three hundred registered political parties. Some of the political parties have a minority representation and are yet to gain a significant impact in the political arena.

The major political parties have dominated certain regions, and therefore, whoever takes the nomination of that party ticket usually wins the parliamentary seat regardless of his or her leadership abilities. In some cases, the party leaders have manipulated the results of the party nomination exercise to reward either a relative or a loyalist with a nomination. This culture of tribal loyalties has promoted regional parties, which dominate certain parts of the country. Moreover, in some isolated situations, certain political parties cannot open offices in certain regions. For the last seventeen years, Kenya has held four general elections, none of which has been free from some degree of ethnic conflicts; the 2002 elections were the only elections with minimum conflicts.

The disputed presidential election results of 2007 prompted the worst dissensions in which an unprecedented wave of violence and destruction of property continued for about two months. This violence shook the very core foundations of Kenya as a nation.

By the time peace was realized, the police department confirmed close 1,200 people dead, and over 600,000 people displaced from their homes, most of which were looted and burned.

The tragedy experienced by the people of Kenya after the 2007 disputed polls form the basis of this study. Kenyans cannot afford to go to another general election before putting certain reform structures in place, guaranteeing that Kenyans will not rise against each other again along ethnic lines. The church must arise and crusade for peace and reconciliation in order to redeem the nation from any further pre- or post-election violence.

Methodology

This project was an exploratory qualitative design, which formed the basis of the recommended strategy paper. I structured questionnaires to help me solicit critical data from church, professionals, and political leaders. I subjected the preliminary data collected from the respondents to critical analysis with the help of a caucus group, and formed the basis upon which to carry out the final research, the findings of which I used to develop the *National Reconciliation Strategy Proposal*. The following is the proposed action plan on how to activate the recommendations provided in the finalized strategy proposal:

1. Register the paper with the Commission of Higher Education,
2. Present a copy to the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and
3. Present a copy to five major ecumenical religious organizations:
 - a. The National Council of Churches in Kenya,
 - b. The Kenya Episcopal Conference,

- c. The Evangelical Alliance of Kenya,
- d. The Baptist convention of Kenya, and
- e. The Organization of African Instituted Churches of Kenya.

The Caucus

I worked with a caucus of twelve people drawn from the Deliverance church Langata leadership team. The basis of their appointment was ethnic diversity, academic credentials, and good character disposition. One of the critical criterions of appointment was an attitude of nationalism besides their profession of faith. I chose them according to representation of seven of Kenya's eight provinces. I took them through a half day, inductive training in a seminar setup, to discuss the objectives of the research, and how to assess the data obtained through the questionnaires. They all requested my purpose statement and research questions to enable them to process what I expected of them. The individuals in the caucus had to be Christians of good standing, members of the Deliverance church Langata, local church leadership, and graduates of accredited universities. They served as my consultant team.

Participants

The participants were in three classifications: the national church leaders, politicians, and business professionals. The political leaders were from a broad spectrum in order to represent the feelings of Kenya's different ethnic groups; they were men and women of modest character, whose response to the questionnaire would add value to the study. They were former and current members of parliament. The church leaders were high-ranking church officials drawn from different denominations who were ecumenical in nature to avoid any religious bias. Their ability to read and write in English was

required in order to help them engage with the questionnaire. The business professionals were former and current government officials some in private business.

I conducted one-to-one interviews with key church leaders on their view on the findings of the main issues deduced from the research. I then held a round table discussion with fourteen key leaders drawn from the three categories of respondents: politicians, professionals, and church leaders. In the round table discussion, we focused on the findings of the research (see Appendix D).

Instrumentation

Bearing in mind that the project was going to be an exploratory pre-intervention, the caucus group, under my guidance, developed exploratory qualitative questionnaires. I structured the questionnaires to help me get necessary data, in order to make my research both credible and transferable. The political, corporate, and church leaders participated in kindly responding to the questionnaires.

Data Collection

I sent pretest questionnaires to fifteen key church leaders, ten politicians, and five professionals. The purpose of the questionnaires was to enable me to further refine and develop it as an instrument to use in the final research study. I restricted the exercise to men and women I had known personally and had demonstrated responsible leadership in public. I requested them to complete and submit the questionnaire as an attachment within thirty days upon receiving it, and a good number of them complied. Some responded late, therefore, their data could not be included in the report.

Data Analysis

I collected all the necessary data within a period of about three months upon dispatch; I held six different meetings between 14 March and 7 November 2009. In the initial two meetings, the caucus under my leadership began developing the questionnaire, which took us two meetings to finalize. We held a few meetings to analyze the collected data after which we made the correlation briefs of each of the issues raised in the data.

Generalizability

The *National Reconciliation Strategy Proposal* was designed with some degree of generalizability that guaranteed its possible usage in other countries faced with similar ethnic challenges, undergirded by universal guiding principles of unity and respecting their social peculiarities. We copyrighted the final document to avoid any manipulation or alterations that would compromise its authenticity.

Ethical Considerations

The caucus, under my leadership and guidance, devised ethical considerations to safeguard the confidentiality of the research sources. Each member of the team committed to treat as confidential any information received as we processed the national reconciliation strategy paper. Each of them made a firm commitment never to divulge the source of the data collected in terms of names of persons involved. In the data analysis meetings, we identified the questionnaire source as from a politician, church leader, or persons from the corporate or business sector of society, without any mention of names. Instead, the questionnaires were numbered. The team conducted the research in this manner to qualify the dissertation process for the ethical and human rights laws that are acceptable in the academic field.

Ethnic Hostility in Kenya—Background

My dissertation focused on the problem of ethnic hostility in Kenya, the negative ethnicity, and the role of the church in the enhancing national reconciliation. Due to the problems Kenya experienced after the disputed presidential results of December 2007, I have a great passion for this issue. As a church leader, I feel duty bound to educate Kenyans on the value of unity in diversity. I honestly believe that the church should promote nationhood and national coherence devoid of tribalism.

Ethnic hostility in Kenya is a major impediment to national development and has continually threatened to tear the nation apart. Kenya has experienced ethnic hostility in every general election since the inception of multiparty politics in 1992. Ethnicity transcends social and academic considerations. Some of the crusaders of negative ethnicity or tribal bigotry are professors in both public and private universities. One might excuse an illiterate person for being tribal, but I still fail to understand the rationale of someone literate advocating tribalism. Those who are literate should lead the way in confronting this vice that has hurt Kenya's national image.

What the country experienced after the 2007 disputed presidential elections is unforgettable, painful, unfortunate, and regrettable. Kenyans began fighting with each other along tribal lines, and the hostility left close to twelve hundred dead and over 600,000 displaced, and their houses and businesses burned or looted; all in the name of politically instigated ethnic or tribal conflicts, which swept various sections of the country and lasted two months unabated.

Whereas most Kenyans appreciate the fact that the primary duty of every responsible government is to maintain law and order, I believe that the church has a duty

to create the necessary spiritual climate to foster harmony between the different ethnic groups. The church has a God-given responsibility to teach values that will enhance unity in diversity, and strengthen national reconciliation, by breaking down the walls of negative ethnicity.

My dissertation focused on what the church should do to promote a culture of peace and understanding between the forty-two tribes that constitute Kenya, as well as to build sustainable foundations for national reconciliation, which can withstand any provocation. The church as the body of Christ should produce members who have the capacity to be the salt and light in Kenya and the world. Like salt, each believer is to season the ethnic community he or she comes from and preserve it from corruption. The church has a duty to nurture goodwill among all peoples and to teach the fear of God to all. The church has a moral obligation to hold the government accountable to its citizens regarding basic services like security and medical care at affordable costs. The church should advocate for peaceful coexistence across the political divide and continually remind all Kenyans of their corporate duty to guard the nation from tribal fragmentation.

Implementation of the Final Strategy Paper

The main objective of this dissertation was to develop a strategy paper on how Deliverance Church Langata, in particular and the Kenyan church generally, would address the challenge of ethnic conflicts that result in hostilities, particularly during the elections. The study also sought to develop practical ways to guarantee national reconciliation. I hoped to develop a strategy paper that will become a tool in the hands of both church and political leaders. The document will be available to church leaders through the following denominational structures:

1. The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), which incorporates all the mainline denominations such as the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and The Kenya Assemblies of God among others.
2. The Kenya Episcopal Conference (KEC)—an organ of the Roman Catholic Church that does not incorporate other churches.
3. The Evangelical Alliance of Kenya (EAK), which has incorporated most of the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches in Kenya. Deliverance churches are under this umbrella body.
4. The Organization of African Instituted Churches of Kenya (OAICK) which brings together other indigenous churches that do not fall into some of the other umbrella organizations
5. The Baptist Convention of Kenya brings together all the Baptist churches in Kenya. I engaged the church leaders of each of these umbrella organizations in the research so that they could own the final strategy proposal document.

Theological Foundation

I chose Ephesians 2:14 to form my theological foundation: “For He Himself is our peace, who has made both one, and has broken down the middle wall of separation.” In other words, Jesus has made the Jews and Gentiles one, and has destroyed the barrier: the dividing wall of hostility between them. I am fully convinced that God wants believers to develop meaningful relationships both vertically with him and horizontally with each other. Jesus broke the middle wall of enmity, so that believers can have a good relationship with him and between each other. In the New Testament, Jews and Gentile believers were to make peace with each other, and more importantly, with God. I believe

that these two relationships are interdependent. I cannot make peace with God when I retain bitterness and hatred towards other human beings. In the same vein, the wall of separation between ethnic groups cannot be broken down without involving God, and this is where the church comes in. “Mutual animosity and hatred towards each other erected a wall of separation between Jews and Gentiles. Christ abolished the wall by making them one before Him” (Anders 114). In Kenya, this wall of separation is a great challenge, and only God, in addition to peace loving Kenyans, will help the church to bring it down completely. The Kenyan church has an obligation before God to spearhead national reconciliation in every region of our country

One of the strongest bases of unity among human beings is their origin. With the great diversity of people all over the world, all human beings should recognize that they have one God as their creator. Even though they are different, the fact that they have a common origin should sober them as illustrated by the following quote: “And as the one from whom all creation precedes, God has instituted ways in which we should relate with him, with one another, and with the environment in which he has placed us” (Owako 10). This understanding is the healthiest foundation for national reconciliation. Kenyans should embrace the fact that all human beings are created equal, and any distinctions come from the personal manner they respond to their obligations. Kenyans should clamor for equal opportunities as opposed to equal distribution of resources. The differences result from decisions they make individually that affect them either negatively or positively.

Kenyans need to acknowledge that the enmity between the Jews and Gentiles was intense, but the attitude between some of the tribes in Kenya towards each other is

probably not any different. I believe that the church has a prominent role to play in enhancing national cohesion and integration. Tukunboh Adeyemo, a former Secretary General of the Association of Evangelicals in Africa (AEA) states in his commentary, “All human differences, hostility, and barriers are resolved, Jesus has the cure for the evils of racism, tribalism, and divided humanity” (Adeyemo 1430) all peoples of the world should appreciate what Jesus accomplished on the cross to destroy the threshold of sin.

Just as Jesus abolished the enmity between the Jews and Gentiles, he is willing and able to destroy the enmity that exists between Kenya’s different ethnic groups and cause them to celebrate their diversities. To bring reconciliation between people who do not honor God is difficult, but the church must not shy away from this awesome responsibility. By God’s grace and power, no one will be able to derail our efforts to develop a strategy for national reconciliation.

The atoning work of Christ that destroyed the enmity between the Jews and the Gentiles and established peace between them will likewise avail for Kenya and any other community at war with each other. God knows no double standards and all that engage his word by faith in the work of the cross of Christ will enjoy every promise attached to it.

This dissertation focuses on what the church in Kenya should do to promote harmony between the different ethnic groups, and how to enhance close, sincere, and sustainable relationships between our different peoples. For those who are loyal to Christ and his body the church, this task will be easier, but for those outside the church,

strategies must be put in place to enable them to embrace the virtues of good brotherly affections.

As Adeyemo states, “In Christ, all human differences and hostilities are resolved; better still they can be resolved” (1430) because people subject themselves to the obedience of Christ. Some of the descriptions the Jews gave to the Gentiles, such as dogs and pigs, only reveal the extent of hatred. I believe that only through the power of the blood of Christ, will the entrenched hostility between the different people groups be broken.

Biblical Christianity teaches that the gospel is for everyone, irrespective of skin color. Christians live with the hope of a future, in which people of “every tribe and nation” will be fully united, “around the throne” (Rev. 5:9), but here on earth, “Christians live and act as members of fully human societies, sinfully human societies” (Priest and Nieves 127). The church needs to continue promoting harmony assertively between the different tribes as a mission objective. As the churches begin to work together towards an objective of eradicating the vice of negative ethnicity, this goal will be achieved.

Considering principles of biblical hermeneutics, the Ephesians 2:14 passage could not just refer to a physical wall. Roy B. Zuck and John F. Walvoord maintain that the dividing wall could not have referred to the wall in the temple of Jerusalem because Paul makes no reference of the temple:

The structure of the Greek words suggests that the dividing wall describes not a physical barrier, but the spiritual enmity between Jews and Gentiles, which separated them. Since Jesus destroyed this enmity, Jew and Gentile believers should have no hostility. (626)

At the time of Paul’s writing, the wall in the temple was still standing. Some people think it referred to the curtains of the temple in Jerusalem between the holy place and the holy

of holies, but that was a curtain not a wall. I am of the opinion that this wall was not physical but spiritual, and it resulted from mistrust and hostility.

The church needs to address the root causes of strife and not just the symptoms; church leaders in Kenya must establish and firmly deal with the issues that make fellow Kenyans hate and despise each other along tribal lines. From a biblical perspective, spiritual problems can only be resolved through spiritual means. An underlying spiritual problem is behind strife at all levels of human relationships. One of Christ's missions on earth was to make peace, and that is one of the reasons his body the Church should always be on the frontline in peace initiatives.

Christ is our peace; Christ makes peace between man and God, and also between man and man. He makes peace between Jew and Gentile. He has broken down the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility—the division, prejudice, and enmity—between Jews and Gentile, between high caste and low caste, between rich and poor, between different races, and between different nations. (Hale 502)

To have people living together in one house and yet divided is possible. The church needs to break down all the barriers that keep brethren divided. The church must continue to champion peace and reconciliation and teach values of unity at all levels of human development.

The conflict that existed between the Jews and Gentiles could not be resolved through legislation of laws and in like manner, the conflicts generated by strife have a dimension that only the church can handle:

There were twofold walls of partition, the inner wall severing the Jewish people from entrance to the holy place in the temple where the priests officiated, and the outer wall, separating the Gentile proselytes from access to the courts of the Jews. (Jamieson 1285)

Whereas this reality was evident, the Apostle Paul may have only referred to the symbolic aspect of a physical wall, but his focus in the Ephesians passage points to the unseen wall. The breaking down of the wall of partition is the perfect work of God, the strife is described as the wall of division. “Within the whole of this epistle, the account of Christ making peace by abolishing the wall holds the same central place which in other New Testament epistles is occupied by strictly Christological arguments” (F. Barth 39). Fredrick Barth suggests various possibilities of what the wall signified. It could have either meant the wall that divided the outer court of the temple to the inner court, or the wall that divided human beings from God, which Jesus dealt with by his death on the cross, or the wall of enmity between us as human beings and between human beings and God. Jesus Christ abolished and brought to an end the division and hostility that separated Jews from the Gentiles and that applies to all humanity today:

The internalization of this moral demand is a significant step towards conflict resolution. However, the strong foundation for this requirement is love. Love unites persons in communion, while transforming each member of the community in his or her own personhood. Since God calls all human persons to divine human familial communion, the first and greatest commandment is to love God and fellow human beings. (Bansikiza 152)

The Bible teaches that love covers a multitude of sins and therefore reconciliation and conflict resolution are possible within an environment of forgiveness and forbearance.

Ephesians 2:14 says, “For He Himself is our peace, who has made both one, and has broken the middle wall of separation.” This leading passage continues to remind us of Christ’s mission to break down the wall that stood between humanity and God and between a person and his neighbor. The challenge of ethnic hostility is real. For example,

the European Union and the United Nations are handling many cases of different countries around the world torn apart by ethnic conflicts.

The Church must live up to the call of integration and condemn any form of segregation, whether along racial or ethnic lines. Deliverance Church Langata is cosmopolitan in nature, and I am greatly honored to be part of what national and cultural integration within a biblical framework looks like:

We need to accept our ethnicity and break the boundaries of ethnicity. We need to remember that nostalgia is not a suitable basis for the church of Jesus Christ and that, if the church is equated with an ethnic group, especially a smallish minority, then, over time, that church will almost assuredly be redefined in terms of ethnic people-hood. (Redekop 176)

The church has a responsibility to educate the minority groups to re-assert themselves as credible Kenyans worthy of respect, without unnecessary agitation. The Kenyan government through the Constituency Development Fund, established by an Act of parliament is now making money available at Constituency to guarantee physical developments in all Constituencies throughout the nation. Therefore, no community is marginalized except where a member of parliament is irresponsible and fails to fulfill the necessary procedures to access the money from the Ministry of Finance.

Church leaders have an awesome responsibility to manage the different ethnic groups without creating any impression that some are more equal than others. The church in Kenya needs to aggressively advance national integration to preempt any attempt by anyone, especially the politicians, trying to instigate ethnic animosity in the future:

Affirming ethnic diversity in the church is Biblical, defining Christianity in ethnic terms is wrong. One is born into an ethnic group; one is born again into the church. Christians have a perpetual mandate not to think in terms of “they and us” but such distinction must be gospel related. (Redekop 176)

The church is the ideal place to practice unity and togetherness on the basis of what Christ desired through his death on the cross. As church leaders we should develop the self-image of every Kenyan, so that the sense of identity becomes national rather than ethnic.

John Eadie captures the issue in question—segregation based on ethnicity in regard to religious right:

The case scenario presented by the Jews and Gentiles will always be a point of reference whenever we address the issues of unity. The Jews attitude towards the Gentiles was absolutely unjustified. This peace is now stated by the inspired writer to be the peace between Jews and Gentiles viewed as antagonist races, and peace between them both united and God. The first receives fullest illustration, as it fell more immediately within the scope of the apostles design. Gentiles are no longer formally excluded from religious privilege and blessing, and Jewish monopoly is forever overthrown, and it is Christ who made both one. (171)

This segregation is the middle wall that Jesus has broken down, and consequently any one, whether Jew or Gentile, can access the presence of God through the merits of Christ. As believers we know that through Christ, all can receive God's favor indiscriminately. In biblical Christianity the promise is to "whosoever," but the world systems advocate segregation. The duty of every Christian is therefore to promote the philosophy of Christ.

John R. W. Stott confirms that the Apostle Paul's letter was not referring to the physical wall necessarily, but to the ethnic wall that kept people apart. What occurred in Jerusalem was very dramatic and the church should encourage the development of films that can present what is recorded in Scripture because visual images have the ability to capture our attention better: "The announcement which Paul makes of the breaking of the wall by Jesus Christ is extremely remarkable.(Ephesians 2:14)

It is important to appreciate Stott's thoughts on this passage in relation to the timing of when the wall was broken:

Historically speaking, the wall was not broken down until the Roman Legions entered Jerusalem in AD 70. So it was still standing, still surrounding the temple, and still excluding the Gentiles, at the time Paul was writing this letter. But though it materially remained, spiritually, it had already been destroyed in AD 30 or so, when Jesus died on the cross. (99)

I believe that the physical wall was built to express the spiritual wall, which, if visible, would be higher than the physical.

What has been done in the name of tribal expediency is unbelievable, and all Christians and peace loving Kenyans must arise and condemn negative ethnicity:

The human carnal nature tends to thrive on selfishness which is a major cause of rivalry whether at family, church, or community level. There is a tendency for man to seek refuge within certain social discriminative structures. It is part of human nature to build barriers that shut others out. In the New Testament times, one of the greatest barriers was between slaves and freemen, especially between slaves and their owners. Those who were free looked down on slaves as inferior, slightly above animals. (MacArthur 66)

Some people treat cordial relationships as a liability instead of thanking God for them as a gift.

Whereas the enmity between the Jews and Gentiles had some cultural and religious dynamics, the same hard feelings are experienced between Kenya's different ethnic groups. The Greeks were so proud of their culture and supposed racial superiority that they considered everybody else a Barbarian. Disunity among people has always been a special heartache to God:

A creative management of differences should be at the core of a peaceful culture. Bonding defines peace culture as a Mosaic of identities, values, beliefs, and patterns that lead people to live a nurturing life with one another and with the earth itself; to deal creatively with their differences

and to share their resources. A commitment to peace concerns every person of goodwill. It should be a responsibility which is especially incumbent upon those who profess faith in God and even more so upon Christians who have as their guide and master Jesus Christ. (Bansikiza 149)

The church needs to put deliberate structures in place to manage the differences that present themselves when people from different backgrounds and cultures come together. Unless we create structures that discourage ethnic groupings, it can happen even in church.

As believers we know that God's word admonishes us to pursue understanding and unity one with the other. One of the main deterrents of harmony is selfishness. The natural person is self-centred and only the church can promote selflessness and servanthood in the community. The biggest challenge experienced in most nations around the world is how to share wealth in order to reduce the pronounced gap existing between the rich and the poor.

The church is a great stakeholder of peace and is able to advance God's purposes well within the context of unity amongst our different people groups. Church leaders should persistently advance the course of unity in diversity:

The barrier is further described as enmity. In this context, it refers not to the enmity between sinners and God, but between Jews and Gentiles. This hostility was centered on the Mosaic law with its mandatory decrees which became the basis of a better exclusiveness to the Jew and a despised and ridiculed thing to the Gentiles. Christ, however, by satisfying its demands and meeting its penalty, made the law inoperative. Thus the cause of the estrangement between the two groups was removed. (Kent 44)

The church should celebrate what Christ achieved through his death on the cross. The wall of partition that stood to divide God and humanity and between individuals and their neighbor is forever broken. As believers we have now become recipients of the grace of

salvation indiscriminately. In the same passion, it is the church's duty to condemn racism and negative ethnicity.

Issues of conflicts associated with ethnic differences are going to remain an agenda for the church for a long time. Racial and ethnic tensions continue unresolved all over the world, and no country is immune from the challenge:

The problematic status and momentum of nationality, of state defined "ethnicity" in Israel, are developed and elaborated in court cases that have dealt with the question of "Who is Jew?" Adjudications of this question turn on the qualities of the personhood that are to be used to define one as a Jew. (Vermeulen and Govers 318)

The fact that the conflicts between the Jews and Gentiles were never fully resolved in the generations past is a shame.

People in the Gentiles category should be thankful to God because whatever has occurred in church history has worked in their favor:

God had put a difference between the Jews and the Gentiles so that His purposes in salvation might be accomplished. However, once those purposes were accomplished, there was no more difference. In fact, it was His purpose that these differences be erased forever, and they are erased through the work of Christ in reconciliation. (Wiersbe 65)

As Scripture says, God has extended his grace to the Gentiles to provoke the Jews. When their provocation has taken effect, and they come back to their original blessing, it will not change God's commitment to the Gentiles, and both the Jews and the Gentiles will share in his glory.

Scriptural References on Unity

One of the most outstanding accounts of the power of unity is found in Genesis 11:6: "And the Lord said, 'Indeed the people are one and they have one language, and this is what they begin to do, nothing that they propose to do will be withheld from

them.” God made this statement after seeing the unity amongst the people building the Tower of Babel, and it shows the church the value of coming together as one team to do something corporately.

The tower of Babel is a good lesson for the country, for the church, and for a family. The advancement of the Kingdom of God will be greatly enhanced, when these institutions begin to speak as one. One of the greatest tools Satan uses to hinder growth in a church is rivalry and schism. The weapon of strife has afflicted families by creating issues of disagreement and rivalry among members of the same family.

The Bible has many passages that emphasize oneness in Christ and the fact that believers are one body in Christ. Romans 12:5 say, “So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and individually members of one another.” I wish every Christian believed this because all the rivalry experienced in homes and in different communities would not exist. Not many Christians understand the concept of being members of one another. The following passages address the issue:

- 1 Corinthians 10:17—“For we, though many, are one bread, and one body; for we all partake of that one bread;
- Galatians 3:28—“There is neither Jew nor Gentile, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ;
- 1 Corinthians 1:10—“...that ye speak the same thing, and that there is no division among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment;

- Philippians 1:27—“Only let your conversation be as it becomes the gospel of Christ, that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel;
 - 1 Peter 3:8—“Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous;
 - Isaiah 11:13—“The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off, Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim; and,
 - John 17:21—“That they all may be one, as thou Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they may be also in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.”
- The whole canon of Scripture is full of passages that advocate oneness or unity in the body of Christ. Christians have a duty to advocate unity amongst them as a godly attribute. God created humanity as inter-dependent, and we therefore need to learn to discourage independence.

Isaiah 56:3-8 addresses the issue of ethnicity as follows: “Do not let the son of the foreigner who has joined himself to the Lord speak saying, ‘The Lord has utterly separated me from His people, nor let the Eunuch say, ‘Here am I a dry tree’” (v. 3). “The Lord God, the one who gathers the outcasts of Israel says, yet I will gather to him, others besides those who are gathered to him”” (v. 8). This entire passage of Scripture addresses ethnicity. Moreover, God promises to grant a place in his house to those that keep his Sabbath and hold fast to his covenant. God says that he will gather others and bring them to his fold. This word *others* may suggest other ethnic groups or people of other races.

The church should promote ethnic and racial integration through church growth seminars and conferences throughout the nation. These initiatives will enhance peaceful coexistence and break down the walls of ethnic strife and racial discrimination. The church is a place where people from all nations should gather and fellowship without anyone feeling isolated. God tells believers in Isaiah 56:6, “Also the son of the foreigner who join themselves to the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants—everyone who keeps from defiling the Sabbath, and holds fast my covenant.” According to this text, all who meet these conditions will gain acceptance regardless of status of nationality, race, or ethnicity.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This research sought to gain an understanding of what people from the different regions of Kenya thought were the causes of ethnic conflicts and why elections always resulted in ethnic violence. The causes of ethnic conflicts formed the basis of the research. I hope to be as objective as possible in order to overcome any bias that may result from what may be my opinion. The credibility of the strategy proposal hinges on the broad representation of the views on how Kenya can overcome this problem. I read widely to learn what goes on in other countries of the world, especially where ethnic conflicts have successfully been resolved. The literature review also incorporates different authors who have addressed the subject of ethnic hostility.

Causes of Ethnic Hostility

One of the causes of ethnic conflicts around the world is the social and economic disparity, between the haves and have-nots. According to research carried out by an interregional forum dubbed The Kenya Thabiti Taskforce, completed in June 2008, a large percentage of their respondents believed that the factors that contributed towards ethnic violence were inequitable distribution of national resources, mistrust among the different ethnic groups, poor leadership, and the high rate of unemployment, especially among the youth. Some of the minority groups disadvantaged by a lack of education blamed the government for favoring certain communities against them. The perception that the government has marginalized them was advanced by some of the politicians in

pursuit of their selfish ambitions at the expense of creating animosity between their ethnic group and other ethnic groups.

In a National Pastor's Conference, held at Kabarak University on 20-23 August 2008, in the Rift Valley province, the NCKK General Secretary Rev. Canon Peter Karanja made the following observation about the disputed presidential results of the 2007 elections:

The dispute was an excuse for venting our long-standing grievances in society arising from unresolved issues, which include the following: land ownership and use, inequitable distribution of resources, a constitutional framework that does not provide for equitable representation and participation in governance, and unemployment among the youth

Negative ethnicity has reinforced the issues stated, resulting in feelings of animosity, fear, mistrust, hostility, and hatred among communities.

Kenyans should not ignore these problems; but rather address them sooner than later because what happened in December 2007 and January and February 2008 is something a majority of Kenyans would never want to reoccur. These observations tie closely to a report done by the *Kenya Thabiti Taskforce*, constituted by several scholars to research "the root causes and implications of the post-election violence 2007."

Thabiti Taskforce comprised a list of specific issues that need immediate attention in order to avoid conflicts in the ethnic conflict-prone regions of Kenya. Many factors have historically aroused ethnic competition and interests:

[These factors include] ethnic-territorial nexus; rapid population growth and internal migration (especially into the Rift Valley); boundary disputes between neighboring ethnic groups (e.g., between Kisii and Maasai); relative deprivation of some ethnic groups (e.g. coastal people); normatively legitimized cattle rustling, and some governance issues in post-independence Kenya. (Adhola 14)

A matter of great concern is that politicians have not taken these issues seriously because certain legislation will be needed to resolve some of these ethnic issues.

Regions Where Hostility Is Worst

Ethnic hostility in Kenya is most prevalent in the Rift Valley, Nyanza, Nairobi, and Coast provinces. These regions are cosmopolitan in nature and to balkanize them along ethnic lines is difficult. The North Rift is the fruit basket of Kenya, and the highlands of the Rift Valley were home to the white settlers before Kenya's independence from British rule. The Kalenjin and Masai communities believe the Rift Valley belongs to them; therefore, over the years they have threatened the Kikuyus and other communities living in this province with forceful eviction or death should they resist eviction. They have treated the Kikuyus as foreigners. In every election, the issue of land comes up, and the Kalenjins tell the Kikuyus to go back to their ancestral land. The Central Province is one of the smallest provinces in size as well as the most densely populated, second only to Nairobi Province. Central Province is the ancestral home of the Kikuyu community, which is the dominant ethnic group in Kenya.

The notion that Rift Valley exclusively belongs to the Kalenjin and the Masai, as maintained by some of the politicians, has caused untold miseries to other ethnic communities living in that region, especially to the Kikuyu and the Kisii. The two communities lived in the Rift Valley long before Kenya gained independence from the British rule in 1963. The hostility against the other tribes comes up almost in every election. However, the 2007 disputed presidential elections brought an unprecedented crisis.

Tribal Council of Elders

The issue of the tribal council of elders has generated some controversy in the recent past, which needs probing. Kenyans need to ask themselves what role a tribal council of elders will play in national reconciliation. The church needs to come out clearly on this matter and condemn any tribal groupings of any form, which politicians may hijack in order to advance their own self-interests. I have personally refused to join tribal groups because the alliance would violate my conscience and make ministering to cosmopolitan congregations without bias very difficult. This refusal does not mean that I am ashamed of my ethnic background. I agree with Jesse Masai, a renowned member of the Reformed Church of East Africa, who expressed disappointment at his denomination's role in hosting the newly formed council of elders for the Kalenjin community at their headquarters in Eldoret recently:

When, after 2007, the NCKK apologized for having failed the nation, I was among those who thought that my own RCEA (Reformed Church of East Africa) had seen the light. The celebration was premature, for their decision to host an ethnic caucus 22 months after the nation's ethnic bloodbath smirks of nothing close to repentance. Council of elders of the kind the Kalenjin's have assembled, as indeed other communities are putting together are no way to heal the nation. (13)

I believe that the role of church leaders should be distinct and completely devoid of tribal grouping, especially where politicians may hijack them to advance some political agenda. I am of the opinion that tribal elders have a role to play that should exclude church leaders. The objectives of the council should be well defined to avoid negative ethnicity. They can intentionally teach the youth the virtues and values of their communities. However, I believe that considering what Kenya is going through right now, anyone bent

on creating a platform of tribal cocoons is not sincere, and everyone needs to think of how to unify this beloved country.

I share the sentiments expressed by former President Daniel Arap Moi, who said, “Formation of tribal council of elders is likely to divide Kenyans” (qtd. in Mwangi 6). Moi said such groupings are undesirable at a time when forging national unity is the priority. He said that many political parties have leaders from different tribes; therefore, tribal councils of elders would only divide Kenyans. He said that retreating to tribal cocoons is undesirable as reaching consensus on certain issues is not easy. Moi spoke a week after the formation of Kalenjin Council of Elders at Reformed Gospel Church in Eldoret in the month of September 2009.

Ethnic Stereotypes

Kenyans need to deal with some stereotype issues, especially among the dominant tribes. The Kikuyus and Luos have had unresolved issues for many years and land dispute issues that exist between the Kikuyus and Kalenjins are divisive. Attitudes passed down from previous generations, have resulted to certain prejudices. The Kikuyus have looked down on Luo men for not undergoing the rites of circumcision. They have scorned the Kalenjins as primitive and uncivilized. These prejudices have created suspicions that have easily resulted in violence with little provocation. The pride of the Kikuyus, though very hard working, has contributed to ethnic tensions, which easily generate conflicts.

The former Agriculture Minister, Honorable William Ruto, MP states, “Provincial and District Schools should be encouraged to admit 50 percent of students from their regions and the remaining 50 percent from other regions to promote national cohesion”

(qtd. in Ochieng 9). The suggestion by the minister is prudent, but I believe Kenyans need to move beyond integration in schools to all government institutions, including hospitals. The government should enforce integration on all levels of the provincial administration, so that nothing ethnic can be planned without being exposed and countered before conflict arising. These efforts will need to be continuous until nationalism is engraved in the minds and hearts of all Kenyans.

Christian Influence in the Most Volatile Areas

FtAfrise, a national mission's movement for which I served as a board member, carried out research that found a dismal Christian population in the Rift Valley. It established that Christian nominalism was quite prevalent there. This factor explains why violence is easily aroused in the Rift Valley because where the church influence is strong, peaceful coexistence is a way of life. The research revealed that only 6 percent of people who live in this massive province, residence to 25 percent of Kenyans attended evangelical churches on any given Sunday. "With 25% of the Kenyan population, the Rift Valley is Kenya's largest province, stretching from North West to South of Kenya, borders Ethiopia and Sudan, Uganda to the West, and Tanzania to the South" (Wang'ombe 61). The condition is aggravated by the low literacy levels of most youth in this province, many of whom are herdsman. They become easy prey for those who would pay them to join warlike activities, especially among the Pokots, where cattle rustling is a recurring problem.

The Kenyan church needs to be more aggressive and plant more churches in the regions where negative ethnicity is a problem. Only the gospel of Christ offers a solution to ethnic hatred and those who embrace the principles of the kingdom of God are

advocates of peaceful coexistence among ethnic diversity. The church in Kenya should embrace the virtues of unity and positive ethnicity. God has blessed Kenya with forty-two tribes, and each tribe brings vitality to the nation.

Extent of Emotional Damage upon the Warring Factions

The emotional hurts that have accumulated over the years become evident when something wrong happens to any of the warring people factions. The emotional hurts that have gone unattended over the years are insurmountable. The church needs to continue to preach love and forgiveness as a way of addressing the hurts. One of the greatest challenges is the recurring ethnic violence every election year. Some people were killed and property destroyed on tribal lines, and then peace is temporarily restored but interrupted again during the next election. Some people have lost property in every election year; therefore, the emotional damage cannot be underrated.

One of the things needed in order to continue to pursue the peace-building effort, is to reconstruct the broken trust among the warring tribes. Rebuilding the wall of trust will take time, so the church needs to put structures in place to manage it. In Eldoret town, tensions were still high even two years after the violence. A woman by the name of Mary Chelagat recently lamented the situation:

The government and civil societies have done little to reconcile communities in the region despite having spent a lot of money on their programs. A recent administrative meeting aborted revealing one of the many factors that have contributed to the deep mistrusts between the two rival communities. (qtd in Bii and Ngetich 23)

Kenyans need to recognize that any community will have a few people who thrive on chaos; society has the difficult responsibility of identifying and isolating them so that Kenya can fully recover from ethnic strife.

Historical Aspects of Ethnicity in Kenya

Ethnic conflicts bedeviling Kenya has historical implications that go back long before independence. The colonial masters' sowed seeds of discord among Kenya's different people groups in what is referred to, as the "*divide and rule* strategy" The well-known Kikuyu bashing dates as far back as the 1930s and the tribes that were loyal to the colonial masters were given special favors. The Kikuyu people led the uprising against the British regime through the "The Mau Mau rebellion". This history may be the source of the hard feelings that exist between the Britons and the Kikuyus to this day. The British interests in Kenya are great, and they always want the seat of power to be occupied by someone they can easily influence or control. During Moi's era, contracts of army uniform supplies and military vehicles were the monopoly of the British government. When Kibaki came to power, he began sourcing materials and services from China and Australia, and this explains some of the difficulties his administration has gone through.

Kenya almost went into a full-fledged civil war, not because the country was not progressing but because the politicians peddled lies to the effect that an inequitable distribution of wealth favored the Kikuyu community. They based their argument on the fact that the president was Kikuyu. Before the violence erupted, the economy had grown to 7.1 percent and much development had taken place. The politicians, particularly in the Rift Valley, Western, and Nyanza Provinces, managed to convince their youth that their plight would never end without a change in the presidency. The same politicians demanded the resolutions of historical injustices caused by the dominant tribes of Mt. Kenya who they accused of enriching themselves at the expense of other tribes.

Most of the elite Kenyans view this situation as a form of postcolonial influence on negative ethnicity geared towards perpetuating divisions among the peoples of Kenya: “The social and political environment during the 2007 elections was polluted by several factors, including political intolerance, ethnicity, sensational media reports and irresponsible utterances and incitement by political leaders, said President Kibaki” (Opiyo 1). During the recent ethnic violence in the Rift Valley, the-so-called *foreigners* were afflicted or put on notice to relinquish their big chunks of land.

Many Britons own the tea plantation in the South Rift Valley and ranches in Central province. The historical injustices seem to target the Kikuyu and Kisii people who have bought land in the Rift Valley. These historical injustices are among issues that will be dealt within Agenda 4 of the national accord that was brokered by Kofi Annan, the former United Nations general secretary, establishing the coalition government in Kenya.

The church is making every effort to hold the government accountable to what it promised, and many initiatives of peace building among the warring communities are in progress. The constitution review was completed and enacted after a highly contested referendum on 27 August, 2010. Issues of political intrigue are still rife. Tribal bigotry is still a challenge, but I believe that the church has the capacity to promote national reconciliation, and that is the objective of the research for this dissertation.

All peace-loving Kenyans should support any intervention by the church to create a spiritual climate upon which to build reconciliation. Their support will complement my team’s efforts to develop a strategy that will put sustainable structures in place for continued national cohesion and integration. Just as Christ brought peace between the

Jews and Gentiles, reconciliation and peace will be a reality in Kenya, too, and in any other communities at war with each other. God is no respecter of persons, and those who engage his Word in faith will receive emotional healing and peace.

A greater determination from each of the different ethnic groups will be necessary if harmony will be realized among the forty-two people groups that constitute Kenya. The fact that every national issue in Kenya is viewed from an ethnicity angle is regrettable, and whoever proposes a matter is judged according to his or her tribe. Tribalism is a problem Kenya must be determined to overcome in order to grow her democracy to match the international standards: “Kenyans of goodwill must say no to ethnicisation of critical issues. If Kenyans cannot entertain differences of opinion without labelling them tribal, then maybe we have no business purporting to be members of the family of emerging democracies” (Waiganjo 15). It is a worrying to observe how every comment made by well-meaning scholars has to be judged on the basis of what ethnic interest he or she is spearheading. Instead of judging what a professor has stated on its own merit, some of the Kenyans want to ask, “what political party does he belong to and what tribe is he or she”. The mistrust between the different tribes is a challenge the church must strategically overcome in our journey towards national reconciliation.

One of the most challenging issues facing the coalition government is how to manage the prosecution of those suspected to have planned, financed, and executed the post-election violence. An effort to establish a local tribunal was defeated in parliament, even after several efforts by both the head of state and the prime minister to marshal support for it. Engaging the International Criminal Court (ICC) seems to be the only option, but it still has some critics in government: “The government was last evening

divided over the prospect of ministers and senior officials being tried by the International Criminal Court over the 2007 post-election violence” (Mathenge and Barasa 1-2).

Kenyan Christians are praying that the government will cooperate with the legal process to bring justice to all who participated in the execution of crimes against humanity. Both the president and the prime minister are committed to have the financiers of the violence prosecuted. A statement issued by the two leaders after an hour-long meeting recently showed that they had given up on a local tribunal to deal with members of parliament (MPs) and business people accused by the Waki Commission of planning and financing the chaos in which 1,133 people were killed and over 650,000 were displaced from their homes.

The Waki Commission was appointed after the formation of the coalition government. Their task was to conduct a thorough investigation on the post-election violence and establish the planners, the financiers, and the executors of the violence and then make recommendation for their prosecution. Even though the government preferred reconciliation, President Kibaki and Mr. Odinga left “the door open for suspects bearing the greatest responsibility over the post-election violence to be tried by the International Criminal Court” (Nemunane 1) Lawmakers have not been keen on establishing a local tribunal to investigate and recommend the prosecution of those who planned and executed the 2007-08 ethnic violence in Kenya, which is most unfortunate.

The pressure on the government to end the culture of impunity is going to yield fruit. According to information in the public domain, the Hague has gathered facts separately in preparation for its private evidence on the violence that rocked Kenya following the disputed presidential results of the 2007 general elections:

The ICC (International criminal court) has quietly taken several witnesses out of the country in the last few months ahead of the trials that are expected to rock the country's political scene and which many Kenyans hope will bring to end the culture of impunity entrenched in the nation's politics. (Mutiga 6)

All Kenyans and especially those who are God fearing should attempt to build a consensus that will compel the government to deal with impunity and tribalism.

President Kibaki has from time to time reminded the citizenry of the need to overcome negative ethnicity or tribalism. Making his official speech during the 46th Kenyatta Day celebrations on 20 October 2009, one of Kenya's public holidays (a day Kenyans pay tribute to the heroes who made great sacrifices in the fight for independence), he said, "Kenyans must first shed their tribalism and concentrate on issues and events that united them. They must further give priority to national healing and reconciliation as well as ending the culture of impunity" (Opiyo 1). President Kibaki outlined his vision for a new and prosperous Kenya devoid of crime, corruption, and impunity.

The coalition government is faced with a big challenge to overcome impunity. High-placed people within the government are suspects of criminal activities related to the post-election violence. This deceit puts much pressure on the two principles (the president and the prime minister) to make tough choices. As Kamotho Waiganjo states, "Nothing reveals the dysfunctional nature of our coalition government more than the question of prosecuting post-election violence perpetrators" (15) The proposed International Criminal Court prosecutions have completely changed the political landscape in Kenya. The Coalition government is divided, with one wing seeking for one year deferral, while the other wing pushing for immediate prosecution with the hope of

displacing some of the presidential hopefuls in the Ocampo list. Moreno Ocampo is the current ICC prosecutor. The key politicians in the prosecutors list are mobilizing for a united political wing that hopes to produce a presidential candidate in 2012.

One of the things that makes the Kenyan situation complex is the fact that previous commissions made recommendations for prosecution but nothing substantive ever happened, especially to the politicians involved. In 1992 and 1997, hundreds of people died, and many were evicted from their homes. The Kiliku and Akiwumi commissions were appointed to investigate ethnic violence in previous years and had proposed that instigators of the violence be prosecuted. The Kenyan government however, though sovereign, did not prosecute the accused persons in a manner worthy of notice.

Discussions have occurred to seek support from the members of the States of the Africa Union for Kenya to obtain a twelve-month deferral from the International Criminal Court to enable Kenya to form necessary legal structures to prosecute the perpetrators of the 2007-08 post-election violence:

All that Kenyans are asking for is a 12 month period to be allowed to put in place a mechanism that will bring about justice and avoid a repeat of the post-election violence,” Ethiopia’s Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who chaired the meeting, said. The Igad Heads of States said they would support Kenya’s effort to build peace and national reconciliation while bringing about justice. (Ashine 9)

The realities of what happens at the International criminal court, whichever way the case will go, will have far reaching effects in the Kenyan political landscape. The impact of key political leaders and especially a son of the founding father of the nation of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, standing in a pre-trial chamber at the International criminal court,

at the Hague in Netherland, opens a new chapter in how the Kenya's legal system should deal with impunity.

Negative Ethnicity and Racial Prejudice

This project was intended to promote harmony between different ethnic and racial groupings and to enhance close and sincere fellowship between all Christians, who have become one in Christ:

When in America the church is divided along racial lines, the power of the gospel to overcome human differences is denied. But when by the grace of God a congregation set in the midst of a broken, hostile world, does by its life together truly overcome disunity, it is an incredible witness to the miracle of the gospel. (DeYoung 67)

The church should demonstrate commitment towards eliminating tribalism and racism.

The universal Church of Jesus Christ has both the mandate and power to advance the kingdom of God indiscriminately, and to tell all people everywhere that Jesus, by his atoning death broke down the wall of enmity and hatred among all races and ethnic groupings. I like what Bruce Milne says in his book: "We have no mandate to gather Christian communities, claiming Jesus' name, that are surrounded by walls of exclusivity, whether of race, color or ethnicity, gender, age or generation, social or economic status" (30). Christians have no room for exclusion, but on the contrary, the church must get involved in the social life of the community, without regard to their ethnic, gender, or social differences.

Racism and ethnic conflicts have been with the human race since the tower of Babel, and the church needs to intentionally create redemptive measures to address this problem. George A. Yancey states this fact clearly:

As Christians we can see that racism and discrimination are not just secular issues but have important spiritual dimensions that must be

addressed. The renegotiation of racial relationship is not going to be done through the legal processes. It is going to encompass a deliberate decision for all of us ... to begin to assert the equality of all races not just in our minds but in our hearts as well. (53)

Since the issues of negative ethnicity and racial prejudice are heart issues, legislating against them is difficult. Doubtlessly, the government has made promises about its determination to end negative ethnicity. My sincere opinion is that all the necessary structures to undergird the promises have not been put in place.

Speaking in Kitale on Saturday, 1 August 2009, Kenya's Vice President Hon' Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka said, "I want to assure Kenyans that the government has declared war on negative ethnicity and that it would not allow tribal wars witnessed after the last general elections to happen again" (qtd. in Mathenge, "Cabinet" 16). Whereas this declaration was a great promise, it does implicate the government to have failed in its responsibility to stop the violence that took place when they had the power to do so.

Kenya does not only deal with tribal or ethnic conflicts but also with the problems of racial prejudice against Asians and Britons. This ethnic and racial discrimination issue is a problem all over the world. Although over 70 percent of people in the United States are white, racial and ethnic minorities represent a substantial and growing segment of the population: "Given the number of books, articles, news reports and other materials on the issues of race, ethnicity and reconciliation, it seems that we would have gotten this right by now" (Barnes 107). Christians are challenged to be watchful for blatant as well as more subtle forms of racial or even ethnic prejudice. Christians must take bold steps in their quest to enhance the peaceful coexistence of people of different ethnic groups and nationalities:

The sense of personal identification with the ethnic group and the identification by others as being a member of the ethnic group defines, in part, but only in part the concept of ethnic identity. The advantage of such a definition that has emphasized cultural similarities and differences is immediately obvious by focusing on the psychological aspect of ethnic identity... Self definition was derived directly from what is given at birth, a race, a language, a culture, a tribe, a history of the group's relationship with other groups in Society. (Hutnik 19)

Kenyans will be greatly blessed, when they begin to view their diversity positively

instead of negatively. Their diversity is a wealth that should be fully exploited.

Unfortunately, that they have failed to exploit the virtues of their cultural differences.

Tribal distinctions should be an added advantage to their national heritage, not a basis for conflict. During the 2007/08 violence, Identity cards were scrutinized to verify the ethnic group one belonged to. Some Kenyans have proposed the removal of the location where one was born and tribe of origin in the national Identity cards to avoid tribal victimization. Some employers check the identity card before hiring a person. With over forty years of independence, Kenya has not overcome the peril of tribalism in the public and private sector. Kenyans must learn the value of their cultural heritage and celebrate what the different ethnic groups contribute towards nationhood, "The deep politics of the clan and tribes, pitting insiders against outsiders, clansmen against foreigners, and original land owners against sojourners has been translated once again into the idiom and practice of ethnic cleansing" (Berman, Eyoh, and Kymlicka 169). The issue of clan rivalry is a big challenge in many communities, even over trivial matters. Clans fight over land and water, especially among the pastoralists. The government has enlisted many interested parties in peace-building efforts in the areas badly affected by the post-election violence.

Community leaders from the clash prone regions are being trained on the dangers of ethnic hostility. The workshop conducted by the government in partnership with US-Aid aims at transforming communities, which were affected by the post-election violence.... Community elders ... promised to eliminate inter-communal hostility and mistrust to avoid a repeat of ethnic violence. (Mathenge , *Debate* 52)

My firm conviction is that the church and its leaders must assume a greater responsibility to teach the fear of God and advocate for a culture of tolerance among the peoples of Kenya. The church can promote nationhood through programs that enhance biblical love as taught by John in his epistles: “He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love” (1 John 4:8). Christians demonstrate their knowledge of God by expressing love in practical ways to those in their community indiscriminately.

The church should also be careful not to condemn intermarriages, even though the experience of Kenyans who were in intermarriages suffered much during the post-election crisis. In this regard, Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh, and Will Kymlicka makes the following comment

The model never foresaw the changing nature of ethnic identity and solidarity. Education, intermarriage, migration, and other social forces would in the end undermine the capacity of ethnic political elites to purport to negotiate on behalf of the entire groups, whose interest would often conflict. Herein lay the real weakness of Kenyatta’s legacy and it could provide no serious long-term answers to the problem. (216)

Kenya needs national reconciliation, supported by all leaders across the board, preached in churches everywhere, and proclaimed meaningfully in all political forums and in every home.

Unity is the only hope for a future prosperous nation, whose economic gains will not be lost in one day because of ethnic hostility during elections. In Kenya, all the economic gains made between 2002 and 2007, were lost within the two months of the post

election violence. National integration should be the agenda of every patriotic leader so that the distegration experienced after the disputed presidential election will never recur:

My global integration argument holds that as nation-states have become increasingly linked together in networks of military, economic, and diplomatic associations, national political boundaries weaken and political regimes become vulnerable to internal challenges. If this is correct, then international forces of integration would have more immediate effects on countries after the end of the cold war, compared to previous periods. (Olzak 152)

The church leaders have a duty to educate all those under their jurisdiction and influence on the demerits of negative ethnicity. Some church leaders exhibit some degree of negative ethnicity and, therefore, lack the moral credibility to champion national reconciliation. In a book coauthored by Africa International University/NEGST and African Leadership and Reconciliation Ministries (ALARM) the authors comment on negative ethnicity:

Political systems that are based on ethnocentrism do not end up forming nations where freedom, justice and prosperity prevail. Social-economic developments are based on ethnic favoritism and international relations that are guided primarily by ethnic considerations always result in enmity and conflict. Modern trends of development in information technology have made the world a global village, and are affected by negative ethnicity. (Muturi 60)

The experience acquired through peace initiatives in Rwanda, DRC (Congo), and Southern Sudan informs the observation Muturi has made. Negative ethnicity does not add any value to the community, but on the contrary, it takes away value.

The Role of Local Chiefs in Peace Building

Chiefs make a significant contribution in peace building within the African cultural setup. Their influence can also be counterproductive if they advance warlike activities due to the authority they enjoy in local communities:

Chieftainship is a very valuable asset because it binds the people and, therefore, the tribe together. Each community must have an able leader and the Chief or Headman must ensure that through his deeds, actions and behavior, he is regarded by his people as their natural leader. The chief of a tribe and, as such, the head of a tribal authority is the political, administrative, executive and priestly head of the tribe. (Crais 110)

The church needs to train believers who can assume responsibility both in parliament and in civic councils. The chief or headmen concept of governance in Kenya has not yielded positive results. Believers acknowledge the fact that tribalism has become the servant of development, and managing it positively instead of negatively is important. Ethnicity is a scientific truth, as well as a challenge all over the world.

Tribal Enclaves in the Constitution

For the last twenty years, Kenya has been struggling to enact a new constitution, but due to vested personal interest by members of the civil society and the political class, the constitution-making process was delayed until recently over contentious issues. According to Paul Muite, a senior legal counsel and a former member of parliament, Kenyans need to answer this question before they clamor for a new constitution: “In a country steeped in ethnicity, is it right to entrench tribal enclaves in the constitution?” (qtd. in Mathenge, “Debate” 52). The concern raised by Oliver Mathenge is legitimate because it is informed by some of the provisions made by the newly enacted constitution. The constitution should not leave any loophole that can institutionalize ethnicity.

As stated previously, everything Kenyans has a tribal dynamic, including the writing of a new constitution. Tribalism is a vice that must be conquered so that the nation progresses. Mutahi Ngunyi, one of Kenya’s key political analysts states, “Majimbo governments as constituted in the draft are tribal governments. There is a government for each tribe” (19). Ngunyi asks the following legitimate question, which

Kenyans should answer with an open mind: “Given our ethnic sensitivity today, is it possible to heal the nation and create tribal governments at the same time? (19)” All peace-loving Kenyans should reject any intention of endorsing a constitution that seems to legalize disintegration, but in an interview with a one of Kenya’s local daily newspaper, Bishop Mark Kariuki, of Deliverance church said that his prayer and hope for Kenya was, “the new constitution to be implemented with speed, so that Kenyans can start benefiting from the new laws”(Churches’ warning to Kibaki and Raila 6) There are mixed reactions among many Kenyans as to when our newly enacted constitution will be fully implemented. The speed at which necessary legislation are been processed in parliament and the financial burden to the exchequer are two major obstacles.

The Role of the Church in National Reconciliation

The church has a prominent role to play in national reconciliation anywhere in the world. As the salt of the earth, Christians have a mandate from God to make this world livable. Believers must gird themselves, not to be blackmailed by politicians or the secular media. Church leaders have a duty to promote unity in the multiethnic churches everywhere in the nation.

The church must understand its mission before God, not only to promote peace and reconciliation, but to develop structures that will sustain peace and overcome any incitement to violence. Christians should understand the cross as a symbol that is linked with unity and peace. Constance Bansikiza rightly asserts, “The cross is a unitized symbol because human suffering cuts across tribal, ethnic, cultural and even religious affiliations” (125). The message of the cross should always promote unity in diversity and rally all Christians in the war against negative ethnicity.

Christians' mission before God as a local church, which is also consistent with that of the universal Church, includes the establishment of a kingdom community in which people enjoy peaceful and healthy relationship with God, with their neighbors, and with the rest of creation:

The church must rediscover the theology and understanding of salvation, which is explained in Romans 1 to 3 as encompassing both Jews and Gentiles. These are two distinct ethnicities who have equally sinned before God and are equally condemned. The church should not create an impression that one ethnic group is better than the other. (Carew 32)

The church should advance virtues that demonstrate freedom from any kind of ethnic or racial discrimination.

The church must take theology seriously, believing as it does, that according to Ephesians 2:3d, "We were children of wrath, just as the others," but by the grace of God the church has become a community of grace, one of flesh and blood, with multi-ethnic and multicultural social realities. The church cannot and must not engage in partisan politics but must speak against issues detrimental to the good of the nation without favoritism or bias. Whereas certain individuals can take partisan positions, the church as an institution should not be drawn into ethnic party politics: "Religious conversion can be a means for abandoning one's ethnic identity by adopting a transcendent world view" (Romanucci-Ross, DeVos, and Tsuda 7). The church has a duty to promote nationalism as opposed to tribalism.

The church should lead in the crusade towards national integration and develop interdenominational programs that bring people from other ethnic groups together. The church should teach the vanity of negative ethnicity and the value of unity in diversity:

For Christians, especially those guided by the Bible, the depiction of Samaritans in racial categories distorts the Biblical texts in that it imposes

on them ideologies of race that these Scriptures never intended to teach that Samaritans and Jews belong to two separate races. (Priest and Nieves 215)

The issue of racial and ethnic conflicts was present even in the apostolic church, and Jesus dealt with it in his ministry on earth. The challenge is one that people cannot wish away. The issue demands resolution in order to advance the kingdom of God. The principles of the kingdom of God will form the good basis of promoting peaceful coexistence. The local church should always be a representation and an expression of the universal Church in a local setup and should evidence diversity both from a social and interethnic aspect:

Local churches can reflect the power of God precisely because they draw people from diverse socio-economic and ethnic locations. The affirmation of the prominence of our identity as members of God's household does not eliminate our connections with our own respective contexts. As ethnic persons, we are invited to celebrate the richness of God's people. (191)

Robert J. Priest, and Alvaro L. Nieves seem to advocate unity in diversity meaning that people can choose to appreciate Kenya's different ethnic groups as a wealth in regard to the diverse cultural heritages. The local and universal Church should never allow ethnic differences to become an impediment to national cohesion. The church in Kenya has a duty to help the citizenry learn to complement each other, and to add value to each other as they develop a synergy that draws resources from the forty-two ethnic groups.

The church should promote the philosophy of men such as Martin Luther King, Jr., who advanced a cause for justice and equality in a nonviolent way, even if it cost him his life. To the contrary, the Kenyan politicians instigate violence between the different communities for political expediency. The plight of the youth in particular renders them easy prey for the warlords in the name of politicians. The church needs to pray that God

will raise men and women of King's caliber—men and women who are ready to go to any length to advance sustainable peace and social justice through diplomacy:

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. (103)

The philosophy of Martin Luther Jr on how to confront social evil provides a legacy that can be replicated anywhere in the world and produce similar results. Bitterness and hatred are destroying many people today, who have refused to consider forgiveness as an option. The Internally Displaced Kenyans, who suffered miserably after the 2007 disputed presidential results are bitter and would consider revenge if given a chance, but revenge was not what Martin Luther advocated.

Kenyans need to learn to exercise discretion and to avoid unnecessary conflict regardless of what they are agitating for. Kenyans have many acceptable or orthodox avenues for asserting their God-given rights without violating the rights of others: “As a conciliar movement proceeds, awareness has grown in the world church that the lack of peace, justice, and the threat to creation are interconnected challenges of the church today” (Liedke and Duchrow 190). I affirm the observation made by Gerhard Liedke and Ulrich Duchrow to the effect that believers have a duty to propagate peace among the people and cannot afford to leave this task to politicians because they have their own self-interests. The church has structures in place to advance peace efforts all over the nation. One of the critical issues to address for the church to overcome negative ethnicity effectively is unity. Only a united voice from the church will be able to regain credence

throughout the nation. The church should build structures upon which cohesion among the different communities will be developed and sustained.

The church must insist on political leadership that is accountable to the electorates. From a Christian perspective, political power can never be absolute. Treating politicians like tiny gods translates into pride and arrogance, which makes them treat the rest of the citizenry as dirt. The church must remind politicians that they exercise power on behalf of God and must therefore pay attention to systems and institutions created for good governance and justice. When the church is compromised by politicians, it loses its prophetic voice to the nation, which is a high price to pay. Alan B. Slifka raises some questions worthy of consideration:

What can be done to reduce the potential litherity of future inter-ethnic conflicts? How can aggrieved ethnic groups pursue their objectives without adopting means that contibute to cycles of retributive violence? Can non-violent action contribute to durable improvements in inter-ethnic relations? (371)

These pertinent questions need to be addressed, and they form a good agenda for the church to pursue.

Interethnic conflicts, according to Slifka, are persistent conflicts between ethnic groups over *perceived* fundamental issues that have been, or are on the verge of being, carried out with mass direct action, either violent or nonviolent, or a harsh state of action against an ethnic group. Many of today's acute interethnic conflicts involve demands for autonomy, independence, or power sharing by an ethnic group living within a state dominated by another ethnic group. The issues raised by Slifka form the basis of some of the research questions because they include questions that need to be addressed in order to overcome the mistrust that characterize interethnic relationships in the Kenyan context.

The word *perceived* is used deliberately because some of the perceptions that raise tensions are completely baseless. Much propaganda that has been passed on from generations past may have contributed to ethnic hostilities.

When Ethnic Identity Becomes a Social Stigma

One of the most unfortunate factor about negative ethnicity is the result and social stigma suffered by some of the people. In Kenya right now a commission has been appointed to focus on national cohesion and integration. I believe that the church should ride on the government effort and promote peace among the different ethnic groups:

To analyze the social organization of ethnic borders, we need a relational frame of reference, in which we can single out those objective phenomena that we somewhat dubiously call “traits.” By concepts logically consistent with relational language. The basic axiom for such analyses is that ethnic groups are social categories which provide a basis for status ascription, and consequently that inter-ethnic relations are organized with reference to such statuses. (F. Barth 39)

Frederick Barth maintains that Christians cannot ignore social status in their integration vision.

Under the disability of a stigmatized ethnic identity, some people seek to qualify themselves as credible members of the Kenyan society. They have to assert their presence in everything. I should be quick to state that even the dominant tribes are subject to stigmatization, such as the Ibos of Nigeria and the Kikuyus of Kenya. They are stigmatized for dominating in the economic sector. Furthermore, most of the other tribes think that, similar to the Ibos of Nigeria, the Kikuyus have taken advantage of them. Evidence is available to prove that the colonial masters ensured that other tribes would regard the Kikuyus with suspicion and hatred, according to professor Macharia Munene of the United States International University, Nairobi, who serves on the faculty of

human sciences. Therefore the stigma can be experienced either by the smaller tribes through marginalization or isolation and through suspicion for the larger ethnic groups. Each individual's circumstances depended on which side of the perceived ethnic divide a person belongs.

Land Distribution as Grounds for Ethnic Hostility

As noted earlier, land is one of the things that has caused much tribal hostility, especially in the Rift Valley province. Land disputes began long before independence, and most of the people who engaged in war were not yet born at the time of those first conflicts. The history of land disputes go back as far as 1904:

There was a recommendation of the land Committee that European reserve land should be made. This was done but after 1904 native reserves were set aside. Unfortunately they were created without adequate information, and in a number of cases some tribes were unwittingly deprived of watering places and grazing grounds, while others received lands to which their claim was doubtful. (Kingsnorth and Marsh 167)

Reading this quote reminds me of the fact that the fight about pasture land and water is still prevalent among Kenya's pastoral communities. Fights that sometimes become fatal over grazing land is a recurring challenge for the government.

In the American context, the issue of racial discrimination has brought untold misery to many who feel deprived of what they believe are rights that are not only provided by the American constitution but also based on faith that the rights are God given. While the Kenyan church has to deal with ethnic conflicts and how to resolve them, the American church has to deal with racial discrimination:

This country has persecuted the very people it uses to toil, mine, and construct its contemporary wealth. Various nineteenth century racial theories justified policing the boundary between white and not white and in effect made people of color the "other" to limit access to material wealth and resources. Promoting theories of infertile hybrids, science was used as an

unsuccessful birth control method between the races. (Spickard and Burroughs 206)

The comparison between racial discrimination and tribalism is significant, I believe that the two are driven by selfishness, and both are a violation of God's law of love. Those who practice racism sometimes condemn those who practice tribalism, but both are social evils that must be condemned by everyone.

Considering all the gathered information, I am able to say that the ethnic hostilities in Kenya has no legitimacy purpose because people fight over land that no one knows its history, notwithstanding that most likely, no African was allowed to sit on the Land Committee. Kenyans need to lay down their weapons and come together as Kenyans and dialogue with a view of stamping out all mistrust and tribal hatred:

The area which the Europeans favored was the Kenya highlands, which they conveniently assumed was to be available for white occupation. What they did not realize or, most probably, refused to recognize was that the real reason for the apparent emptiness of the highlands was that the Kikuyu, to whom the area belonged, and who were predominantly agricultural people, had been kept out of these lands by the raids of the Semi-nomadic Masai herdsmen. (Boateng 202)

The Kenyan highlands continue to generate disputes long after independence. Land policies have not been given prominence in Kenya's legislative assembly and whatever amendments added remain the privilege of the elite. No civic education has taken place in land issues to enable the average Kenyan to understand current rightful land ownership and lease conditions. Some Kenyans still believe that certain regions are exclusively owned by certain ethnic groups. This primitive mind-set has continued to create tension among the different communities, particularly in the Rift Valley, the largest province, stretching from Kenya's border with Tanzania on the south to the Sudan on the north:

Disputes over land ownership in Rift Valley create conflicts between two communities, the Kalenjins who regard themselves as the indigenous community, and the Kikuyu, who are regarded as the immigrant community. The dispute stems from the premise held by the Kalenjins, that Kikuyus were helped by the government of Mzee Kenyatta to acquire land in their ancestral home. (Some 10)

Here lies one of the most difficult issues to resolve—ancestral land claims. The contention of land in the Rift Valley will be difficult to resolve unless the government enforces land ownership policies. The constitutional provision, “All land in Kenya belongs to the people of Kenya collectively, as a nation, as communities, and as individuals (Article 61, cap 1), is seemingly applied selectively. The church raised a concern over a provision in Article 63, cap 1 of the new constitution, which states, “Community land shall vest in and be held by communities identified on the basis of ethnicity, culture, or similar community of interest.” A close analysis of this provision seems to promote ethnicity.

The colonial government, in the mid-1940s, sowed the seed of discord. Colonial documents accessed by *The Standard* on Sunday, 18 October 2009, shows that in 1957, the Annual Colonial Government Report for Elgeyo-Marakwet said, “In common with other Kalenjin people however, there is everywhere else a dislike of the Kikuyu settlement being established in what is regarded as their district’s sphere of influence in Uasin Gishu” (Some 10). Unfortunately, Kenyans must come to terms with the fact that the scourge of tribalism was advanced by the former colonial masters for their own selfish interests. The groundwork for this hatred was laid much earlier by the colonial masters’ blind desire for more land. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the colonial government had pushed many communities into reserves and squatter camps to create

land for colonial cash crop. The most severely affected areas were Central, Rift Valley, and Coast Provinces.

Rebuilding Healthy Relationships

Kenyans have everything necessary to rebuild a healthy nation from the ashes and the shame of what they went through after the disputed presidential results of December 2007. All well-meaning Kenyans should consider that peaceful coexistence is the way forward. No one benefits from chaos and bloodshed. These tragedies only invite God's judgment upon a nation. God is the giver of all things, and the most valuable gift he has given is life, and no one should cut short the life of another. Shedding innocent blood is an abomination before God, and no one who has shed innocent blood shall be guiltless. No one should rise against another based on tribal differences, and no tribe should consider itself superior to another:

The tribe as an ongoing social structure capable of fulfilling the basic life needs of its members is disappearing in Africa. Tribalism however, in the sense of ethnic identification, psychological commitment, historical membership, or set of shared values remain important everywhere.
(Markovitz 56)

The church has an awesome responsibility to clarify issues of ethnic differences because Kenyans just need to understand each other. Irving Leonard Markovitz raises an issue of grave consideration as a positive aspect of ethnicity, but it requires great responsibility to ensure that what he proposes is kept in check, not to degenerate to exclusion of one tribe in the guise of sharing values.

Tribal loyalties equalize people from the smallest to the greatest. Only a calculated resolve can break the threshold of tribalism, and this kind of resolve can only be birthed by the Holy Spirit. I will never forget how the events of early 2008 brought

people together along tribal lines to discuss how they were going to help their displaced communities: “Famine and ethnic war pulverize huge numbers of different individuals into exactly equal units of pure humanity” (Ignatieff 19). This observation became a reality in Kenya following the post-election violence, as different ethnic groups began issuing statements to protest the harassment of what they described as *our people* as if Kenya was to be divided into forty-two units so that each tribe could have its own portion.

Some in the church have started justifying the reason for guarding ethnicity. Since the post-election violence, I have seen well-meaning Christians becoming tribal in their reasoning, which suggests that many ideas tend to surface in times of crisis. A carnal element makes Kenyans feel more secure when with people of their ethnic groups. Christians need to be watchful, so that they do not compromise their faith. Essentially believers’ newfound community is the church, the body of Christ, where they should find consolation. The church should advance the culture of unity in diversity and resist any temptation of reducing itself to tribal bigotry.

People unite when they are facing common challenges, and even enemies will be friendly if they are facing a common enemy. People need to go beyond national integration to global integration: It is regrettable that people recognize the futility of ethnic violence but still indulge in the same “A number of scholars from various disciplines have identified a set of internal features of states that promote ethnic violence, including poverty, inequality, weak political regimes, and politics of exclusion” (Olzak 116). The church cannot afford to ignore the social realities of the community to which

they are called to minister. The church has a duty to speak to the issues that are in the minds of the congregants.

The Peril of Negative Ethnicity

Negative ethnicity is a problem whose study is yet to be fully processed, and more researchers need to undertake this subject and make recommendations on how to make the world more peaceful by reducing racial and ethnic hostilities. In Kenya however, some politicians cannot survive politically without using ethnicity as a weapon.

In political theory, “ethnicity” describes a group possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity, composed of people who are aware, perhaps only latently, of having common origins and interests. Thus, an ethnic group is not a mere aggregate of people but a self-conscious collection of people united, or closely related, by shared experiences and a common history. (Tishkov and Rupesinghe 13)

Solidarity is evident among the tribalists in Kenya, having both a positive and a negative effect, especially when a community becomes conceited and segregates itself from others.

The church should arise and use everything at its disposal to break down the barriers created by negative ethnicity. The church needs to petition the government to introduce subjects in Kenya’s educational curriculum that address issues of civil concern, and particularly to target the youth with a view of exposing the peril of negative ethnicity. Professor Bethwell Ogot of Maseno University links negative ethnicity with colonialism:

The definition of ethnic groups as “tribes” is a concept that was racist and historical in the sense that it regarded the various nationality groups as being static, exclusive and homogeneous. In this sense, the concept of “tribe” was therefore an intellectual abstraction, a mental invention of the colonialists that was intended to convey or portray the people without government, without culture and without history, in order to justify colonialism. (qtd. in Wamwere 21)

The church needs to get involved in deliberate efforts to move Kenyans beyond the disappointment of colonial bondage to self-determination, so that each Kenyan feels duty bound to support structures of national reconciliation. The coalition government was established on the basis of reconciling Kenyans. Kenya was bleeding from politically instigated violence that had brought untold miseries to hundreds of thousands of people. Kofi Annan, a former Secretary-General of the United Nations, a key player in brokering the peace agreement that birthed Kenya's grand coalition government, was in Kenya during the first week of December 2009, to follow up on issues of reforms agreed upon during the peace mediation talks in March 2008. He made some remarks that should make the church speed up its role in establishing sustainable peace initiatives throughout the nation. He lamented that some of the Kenyan politicians seem to have forgotten too quickly what the nation went through following the disputed presidential results of 2007. The pain that Kenyans went through should not be forgotten or sacrificed in the altar of irresponsible political posturing, even when the plight of the internally displaced persons is still unresolved.

In Kenya the average person will talk about it as tribalism. Tribalism is one of the worst plagues in Kenya's national history, especially when I reflect on what happened after the 2007 disputed presidential elections:

Negative ethnicity is never exposed to the African masses as the destructive poison that it is, rather it is peddled as a panacea. Thus, despite the millions it has killed and the countries it has destroyed. Negative ethnicity has an uncanny ability to deflect people's minds away from its evil nature. When we in Kenya hear of a million people killed in Rwanda, negative ethnicity tells us, "Don't worry, only primitive Hutus and Tutsis butcher each other." (Wamwere 88)

Kenyans need to repent for taking peace for granted and for presuming that they are immune to genocide. Any country can quickly degenerate into chaos and confusion. Except for the mercies of God, what was about to happen in Kenya, if the brokered peace agreement by Kofi Annan failed, could have made the Rwanda genocide less significant.

A statement made by President Kagame of Rwanda in Nairobi on June 1st 2009, during the National Prayer Breakfast where he was a special guest, regarding the genocide his country suffered in 1994, confirms this fact: ‘The people of Kenya cannot afford to fail. The Rwanda experience leaves no doubt that where leaders do not seek knowledge and wisdom, they lead their nation to self destruction’” (qtd. in Onyango, “Change or Perish” 6). The testimony of President Kagame is credible because he was in Rwanda when the genocide happened. His firsthand experience of what brought untold miseries and death to close to one million Rwandese cannot be ignored.

In his remarks during the promulgation of the new constitution in Nairobi’s Uhuru park on Friday, 27 August 2010, Kenya’s Prime Minister Hon Raila Odinga said, “We must be vigilant to stop corruption from stealing our future and negative ethnicity from weakening our nationhood. The promise of this new beginning will be challenged by our traditional enemies; corruption and negative ethnicity,”(13) as reported by Gitau Warigi an editor of one of Kenya’s local news paper. Every leader needs to wage war against negative ethnicity. Perfecting the art of ethnic integration will cause negative ethnicity to die.

Restoration of Broken Trust

Many years’ work will take place before trust is fully restored among Kenya’s different ethnic groups, and particularly in the Rift Valley Province, which was the

epicenter of ethnic violence after the disputed presidential results of 2007. This mistrust becomes serious when even a normal crime is perceived to have an ethnic dimension.

The church in the Rift Valley region has an uphill task as they try to encourage the different ethnic groups to live together without conflicts based on mistrust: “In a recent meeting convened by the deputy provincial commissioner, the mayor of Eldoret reported of his visit to Rwanda which suffered genocide in 1994 and urged Kenyans to avoid ethnic violence at all costs” (Ngetich and Bii 4). Anyone who visits Rwanda’s museum, where the skeletons of those killed during the genocide are kept, will always condemn negative ethnicity.

The duty of every Kenyan leader is to promote peace among the different ethnic groups and to expose the folly of ethnic conflicts and how they hurt the nation both economically and socially. Every Kenyan is a stakeholder of peace, and no conflict adds any value to a nation or to its peoples:

Ethnocentrism is the technical name for the view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it. Folkways correspond to it to cover both the inner and the outer relation. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities and looks with contempt on outsiders. (Reminick 7)

As Ronald A. Reminick states, one of the weaknesses of tribalism is the tendency for one tribe to consider itself superior to others. That vanity is the root cause of ethnic tensions in Kenya. A nation can easily be drawn into pride and arrogance along tribal lines. In Kenya the GEMA community of the Mt. Kenya region, which is part of Central Province, is accused of looking down on other Kenyans because their economic stability is the highest nationally. The Luo community is accused of being prideful for producing some of the smartest brains in the land, thereby dominating the academia sector, but also

regrettably leading riots over petty issues. The Kalenjin community is accused of being secretive and not venturing into new territories.

All leaders should aim at complementing each other, and have a common objective of building a strong and healthy country, where Kenya's sons and daughters will grow without fear of discrimination along tribal lines:

The banishment of "race" from the centre of the discourse, which contains terms like "ethnicity," "ethnology" and so on has been interesting. For a comparison, we might imagine terms like "domestic," "domesticity," "domesticated" and so on, trying to make their way in the world in the absence of the term "home," itself disallowed, and awkwardly and partially replaced by a new term, "domestic group..." In many ways, "ethnicity" is "race" after an attempt to take the biology out. (Chapman 21)

Reading so many comments of how ethnicity has shaped human civilization has been quite an interesting exercise.

As stated clearly in this study, issues of race and ethnicity have formed agendas in many international organizations, and that is why so many agencies that are international in scope, such as the Red Cross, whose work addresses the plight of those who may be suffering due to war, violence, or natural disasters, exist. These problems can be found almost on every continent; therefore, what Kenya is experiencing as a nation cannot be viewed as unusual:

The most extreme outcome associated with the failure of ethnic compact is the outbreak of genocide: the systematic killing or extermination of an entire group, most associated with the Nazi regime's execution of millions of Jews throughout Europe during world war two, the label of genocide in the African context has become synonymous with the killing that took place in Rwanda in 1994. (Schraeder 147)

Almost every continent has had tyranny, but what happened in Germany with the Jews and what happened in Rwanda is both regrettable and despicable. Dehumanizing others

and treating them as a matter of statistics is both demonic and senseless. Human beings were created in the image of God, and the sanctity of life must be respected by all.

Negative ethnicity started showing its ugly head in Kenya long before independence. Kenya's former colonial masters will forever bear the blame for exploiting innocent Kenyans by pitting one community against another. They believed that by antagonizing one tribe against another, they would be able to rule them better because if the tribes ever spoke as one, they would demand independence and self-rule:

The British painted Mau Mau freedom fighters not as people fighting to liberate Kenya from colonial bondage, but as Gikuyu ethnic chauvinists who wanted to drive the white protector of small Kenyan communities out, in order to take over themselves. (Wamwere 60)

Koigi wa Wamwere, a former member of parliament, articulates very well how the colonial masters strategically brainwashed the small tribes to believe that they were only safe under colonial rule. I believe that this propaganda has impacted Kenya since independence, and that is why tribalism has been such a great challenge. The demonizing of the Kikuyu community was begun by and could still be serving the interest of these former colonial masters:

The general shift in terminology from "tribe" to ethnic group relativisms creates such an us/them dichotomy, since ethnic groups, unlike tribes, obviously exist among "ourselves" as well as among the "others." The boundary mechanisms that keep ethnic groups more or less discrete have the same formal characteristics in a London suburb as in the New Guinea highlands. (Erickson 96)

Drastic measures will need to be taken to shift the common person's ethnic mind-set and to encourage the development of a national mind-set throughout the country.

The situation in Kenya is complex because it requires unity among forty-two ethnic communities with different interests. The process of change will take time, but

with much civic education on the value of unity in diversity, and the wealth that each tribe brings into the nation, people will change and begin to think and talk in terms of nationhood rather than tribe:

Ethnic conflicts take several different forms and sometimes combine different elements. Firstly, there are the state-supported systems of domination and exploitation of minorities that may lead eventually to the extermination of a people or their relegation to the geographic and social margins of the society. This was the typical fate of indigenous populations in the colonial era and continues in varying degrees today. (Dennis and Stone 91)

Many nations of the world openly dominate and exploit the minority groups as the norm rather than as an exception. A recent testimony by a clergyman from India shocked me as he narrated the way they treat people from some of the castes with absolute exploitation and dehumanization. They are made to do so much and earn so little, simply because they come from certain clans or castes.

How to Embrace Others

Kenya's President Mwai Kibaki often asked his fellow politicians to demonstrate by word and deed that they were committed to the reconciliation and healing process of Kenya. A renewed effort is needed to embrace each other in the spirit of nationhood. I believe that the church in Kenya has a great responsibility to teach love, forgiveness, and reconciliation as the only foundation upon which the country can recover from the reproach that befell Kenya following the 2007 disputed presidential results of the general election.

Considering Ephesians 2:14, Jesus broke down the wall of hostility between humanity and God, and between one person and the other. As the body of Christ, Christians need to be more aggressive in pursuing reconciliation among the warring

factions in Kenya. Kenyans should be committed to divine solidarity with other fellow citizens. This world will be miserable without the presence of one another:

I want to spell out the social significance of the theme of divine self-giving; as God does not abandon the godless to their evil but gives the divine self for them in order to receive them into divine communion through atonement, so also should we—whoever our enemies and whoever we may be. (Volf 23)

Love is about self-giving, and if Kenyans will begin learning the concepts of self-giving, then they shall strengthen their nationhood and overcome the temptations that tend to divide them.

One of the greatest causes of ethnic strife is the perceived inequality. This complaint is prevalent among the minority groups who feel strongly that they are marginalized. I believe that God's universality entails human equality; human equality implies equal access by all to the blessings of God. Salvation is accessible to as many as will believe in Christ as Lord. Without discrimination, believers receive all the covenant blessings promised in the Holy Scriptures. God knows no partiality, and he desires that believers carry that expression of impartiality everywhere they go. "It is profoundly significant that as Ellen Charry writes, 'Jews and Gentiles are made one body of God's children without regard to ethnicity, nationality, gender, race, or class'—precisely in the 'cross of Christ'" (Volf 45). The God that created the heavens and the earth, and all living things, and created humanity in his own image, desires that people may know true unity and overcome all prejudices.

A historical study of humanity across the globe, shows that the problem of ethnicity and racial discrimination is not restricted to any one continent, but the crisis is in every country in the world. Schism does occur even within the family circle. Whether

hostility between humans results from religious, cultural, color, social, or political differences, the barriers are real and have degenerated to strife and conflicts that leave the world insecure. As in the case of the Jews and Gentiles in Paul's day, an invisible wall of separation exists that not only keeps people apart but also creates enmity. Just as the Israelites who went to exile in Babylon, real challenges are experienced whenever residence is assumed in another place. Due to the reality of their diversity, Kenyans have a prayer captured in their national anthem, "to dwell in unity, peace, and liberty. "Unity and cohesion in our diversity; peace with one another; liberty to live and enjoy our lives without fear" (Owako 16). The church has a great responsibility to help people down the invisible wall that isolates them from other ethnic groups.

Ethnic conflicts are not experienced in Africa only; the problem is universal. The devil is not restricted to Africa because he is at work everywhere in the world. The main task of church leaders is to proclaim the Word of God, and tell all people not to play into the hands of the devil. Jesus is the Prince of Peace, who came to the world to destroy the works of the devil. It is my honest opinion that each individuals should retain their diversity in terms of ethnicity. Christians have a responsibility never to regard one ethnic group as more important than the other because we all share one heritage, that is, we are God's creation:

The recent war in the former Yugoslavia (1991-1995) has increased the already oversized vocabulary of evil with the term, "ethnic cleansing." Ethnic otherness is filth that must be washed away from the ethnic body, pollution that threatens the ecology of ethnic space. (Volf 27)

Unity in any establishment will attract God's blessing as long as it is not intended to harm others. This concept is true in a family, a church, or even a nation. The truth of Psalm 133:1, 3 "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in

unity?” and, “It is like the dew of Hermon, descending from the mountain of Zion, for there the Lord commands a blessing even life forevermore,” can be applicable beyond the local sense of people dwelling together in unity to unite a nation.

The Issues of Social and Material Inequality

Whereas God treats people equally, the church understands that people do not respond to God equally. At this point inequality begins. Some people wonder why God fails to treat all people equally but is able to attend to each person in his or her specificity. They also wonder why God seems not to obstruct people from strained relationships but, on the contrary, allows their relationships to shape their judgment and actions. The answer is not as difficult as one might suppose: God is just. The justice that equalizes and obstructs is an unjust justice. Reinhold Niebuhr argues, “No scheme of justice can do full justice to all the variable factors which the freedom of man introduces into human history” (qtd. in Volf 222). The freedom of choice is what distinguishes people; therefore, what seems like marginalization is self-made. Kenyans must be encouraged to come out and assert themselves into the global society and engage in education and training. The postmodern society is not just thinking of national unity but of international or global unity, based on values that respect every person as a creation of God who need the basics to live without fear or terror, which is why organizations such as the United Nations look to the world as a global village.

Cultural and Language Differences and Their Impact on Ethnicity

I have observed that ethnicity has some cultural distinctives that may not necessarily be driven by the same factors. What happens in Europe and America may be quite different from what happens in Africa. One of my observations regarding some

Americans is their individualism, or a tendency to be always private. That kind of individualism is unacceptable in Africa because *community* is an important concept in the African culture. In some people groups, everyone is a brother or sister. Santosh C. Saha says in her book, “In African societies the traditional concerns for consensus, collective interests, collective identity, and emphasis on personal-informal relations contradicts individualism, intense competition, impersonality and formal relations associated with democracy” (114). Unfortunately in the African context, ethnic identity is abused by professionals and government employees to further personal interests.

Unlike the West, the Kenyan political constituencies are geographical in nature and quite often ethnically homogeneous; therefore, in Kenya, for example, to win the support of an ethnic group is to win a political constituency. I admire what happens in America, because even if certain states are considered to be dominated by either Republicans or Democrats, they are not necessarily ethnically homogeneous.

Another thing that seems to enhance ethnicity is the language barrier. Anywhere one travels around the world (especially where English is the official language), if people happen to hear someone speaking in their vernacular, they automatically gravitate towards them. Considering that no language is superior to the other, and no one applied to be born into a certain ethnic group, Kenyans need to have a commitment not to allow language to divide them, instead, use the diversity to enrich their national heritage. One of the most famous African proponents of writing in indigenous languages is the Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o:

Ngugi's basic argument is that, since the majority of the populations in most African countries do not speak the inherited European languages, the African novelist adopting this medium speaks only to a very small

national elite and foreign audience, which in turn reinforces an intellectual dependency on the former colonial powers. (Schraeder 195)

Ngugi maintains that no one language should be treated as more superior than others and he also points to the fact that Kenyans can only influence people who understand their language.

As a country, Kenya needs to develop a culture that acknowledges and accepts the different languages as wealth and treats them as an advantage. For English-speaking Kenyans to neglect national and vernacular languages is inappropriate. Those who speak English influence only the small group of those who can understand it, but when Kenyans speak the national language (*Kiswahili*), they influence the masses. In so doing, they help other appreciate that their languages and cultures are not in any way inferior to English, French, or any other language for that matter.

Because of its capacity to partition societies, language acts as a potentially divisive factor in a multilingual setting. Since the early 1960s, ethnic-linguistic fractionalization (ELF) measures have been used as proxies for solidarity that predict potential conflicts within states. “Scholars have argued that state building, economic modernization, and cohesion will be seriously impeded to the extent to which groups are highly diverse, compared to conditions of relative homogeneity of the population” (Olzak 154). The success against ethnic hostility (whose cause is negative ethnicity) will depend on the determination to appeal to the lowest member of society and not to forget the elite.

The church should not be afraid of confronting the challenges associated with negative ethnicity. “In assessing problems associated with ethnicity, we must be careful to maintain a balanced perspective, ethnic consciousness will not halt church growth if the group sees itself as part of the larger body of Christians” (Redekop 132). Negative

ethnicity does have a negative impact on the church, for churches to grow inspite of their divisions is not possible. My observation of churches in Europe and North America is that those who are multiracial seem to do better.

Therefore, I believe that all churches need to break racial and ethnic walls. As a matter of principle, churches in countries where racial discrimination is a problem should not ignore the situation. They should strategically put structures in place to dismantle segregation on racial grounds:

It is failure, which existed in the anti-Semitic churches in Nazi Germany, in the forcefully segregated churches in the United States, south, and still exists in the apartheid churches in South Africa, as well as in all churches throughout the world, which build barriers instead of bridges. (Redekop 132)

The transformation that has taken place in churches all over the world must be appreciated. Racial prejudice (though not completely addressed) is treated with disdain in most of the Christian world.

Whereas in most countries the situation has improved significantly, the church has a long way to go to overcome ethnic discrimination. I believe that as a church leader, I have a duty to keep the pressure on those I oversee to learn to appreciate the grace of God by appreciating one another, The church should remain in the frontline in fighting racial and ethnic discrimination. Only the church can win the war against this vice without fear of contracdiction, and we should never give up on this crusade:

Ethnicity has also been considered as a self-concept derived from cultural coherent and insulated environment. Cultural markers serve for internal cohesion as well a differentiation from other groups. Such cultural elements as custom, class, gender, territory, language, and race strengthen the internal logic of ethnic ideology. (Redekop 135)

According to John H. Redekop, the instability of post-colonial states has promoted a heightened sense of ethnic identity.

In Kenya, for example, people who claim to be marginalized propelled conflicts. The instigators of violence make popular statements that appeal to the youth, most of whom are jobless and/or have poor economic status. Some politicians have won election by successfully antagonizing different communities. The debate of inequitable distribution of resources is prominent among many politicians. Some believe them, and are ready to fight for the so-called inequitable distribution, not of opportunities, but of resources.

My contention on this issue is different, I believe distribution of opportunities and responsibilities should be equal. Resources should be distributed according to responsibilities, but I do not know of any nation even in the socialist system of government, in which people enjoy equal wealth, where some are busy working, while others wait to reap what they did not sow. Even in the United States of America, the welfare department adheres to certain regulations.

One very interesting account tells how the Democratic party in America supported an ethnic organization of Haitians in New York City for political reasons. The Democratic party wanted to influence a block vote from the Haitian ethnic group whose numbers had risen to 120,000 in New York City alone by 1971: "The decision of the national Democratic Party to organize ethnic constituencies coincided with an ambitious Haitian immigrant's decision to develop political contacts by stressing his ethnic identity" (Leis and Hicks 28). This story compares closely with the Kenyan situation where each major political party draws support along ethnic lines. Kenya needs a party

that will transcend tribal loyalties and unify people through values and common ideologies. Those positioning themselves for the presidency will commonly appeal to other ethnic groups to garner enough votes to win. When that does not work, they go into political alliances, which again are along ethnic lines.

The challenge the church in Kenya faces is how to detach itself from political influence and manipulation, so that it can stand up for values that honor God and have a strong influence upon citizens. This move would give the church the moral authority and leverage to speak against those who foster negative ethnicity, with the aim of garnering enough support from the electorate and to reject tribally biased political leaders.

The situation Kenyans face now is different because the average Kenyan voter is influenced to vote through financial coercion, and cases have been reported where affluent politicians spend millions of Kenyan shillings to woo voters. Worse still, they even buy the voters' cards to disable some from participating during the election, so as to predict how many voters are out there. Typical Kenyan politicians give promises to the voters while knowing they do not have the capacity to fulfil them, even if they win their political seats. When politicians are elected into parliament, they become untouchable, and they immediately form other alliances meant to transact business in the house to serve their own interests, not those of the electorates.

I believe that the Kenyan church should do more to help the electorates embrace their civic role of holding the politicians accountable by conducting civic education through the church. The church has a role to demonstrate neutrality in party politics but not neutrality in terms of what beliefs in God-given responsibility to protect Kenyans from politicians who want to thrive on ethnic hostility. The mandate of the church is to

preach everywhere indiscriminately and to advance the purposes of the kingdom of God. The church has a responsibility to speak hope to the nation and to rebuild bridges and break down walls of tribalism that threatened nationhood following the disputed presidential elections of December 2007.

Comparative Ethnicity

One of the tragedies of African history was the Rwanda genocide. This catastrophe will have negative implications for many generations to come:

The Rwandan civil war was perhaps the ultimate manifestation of contested identity that culminated in genocide as an attempted solution to the question. This genocide seems to have been underscored by the survival strategy of the competing groups born out of perceived or real threat to group identity and security. (Leis and Hicks 9)

The monumental museum in Kigali, Rwanda remains as an indictment against the insensitivity of the international community who waited too long, without any intervention, until hundreds of thousands of people were killed.

Surprisingly, only two ethnic groups exist in Rwanda—the Tutsis and the Hutus. These groups dealt one of the worst blows to human dignity and sanctity of life in the history of Africa as a continent. The whole world watched as these tribes butchered each other with machetes (*pangas*), leaving the country bleeding, and of course, desecrating the land. All this killing took place over a lengthy period, while the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (currently the African Union), were still meeting in boardrooms discussing the problem but doing nothing to stop it. Rwandan politics essentially focused on ethnic entitlement and exclusion, the key ideologies and practices that reduced Rwanda to perpetual instability, conflict, and much worse—the recurring physical elimination of a section of Rwandese people through genocide:

After 1994, Rwandese confirmed the perspective that a failed state is indeed a result of failed leadership, here was a group of people who were entrusted with governing a nation that chose instead to dismember its most valuable asset; its citizenry. (Onyango, “Speech” 14)

Considering what happened in Rwanda, with only two conflicting groups, a country such as Kenya, where forty-two tribes coexist, each of them wanting to assert their identity, poses a much larger threat. To form a cabinet that has a representative from every tribe is challenging. The complaint for inequitable distribution of resources and land is a big problem. The general shift in terminology from *tribe* to *ethnic group* relativizes such an *us/them* dichotomy because ethnic groups, unlike tribes, obviously exist among us as well as among the others. The church will continue to promote unity in diversity and put structures in place to help those who need help.

A close examination of ethnic conflicts all over the world shows that they seem to develop from similar dynamics. As has already been established, ethnic conflicts are issues of the heart; they can only be handled from that perspective:

In Liberia, a nation whose population consists of 16 distinct groups, ethnicity has shaped the structure and development of its political, social, and cultural institutions for its entire history. While ethnic diversity has enhanced the lives of its 3.5 million people, differences between ethnic groups also have fostered both minor tensions and major warfare. (Saha 105)

Liberians and other Africans see the solution to the tribulations of ethnicity as democratic governance. Most people in Africa believe that the former colonial masters are solely responsible for the ethnic problems. The current regional Kenyan distribution was executed when Kenya was a British colony; their philosophy of governance was *divide and rule*. This divide-and-rule culture has played a key role in the regional politics unto this day.

Ethnicity as a Political Phenomenon

Kenyan politics as a nation has also contributed towards national disintegration and this is something that needs to be stopped.

Ethnicity is essentially a political phenomenon, as traditional customs are only used as idioms and as mechanisms for political alignment. People do not kill one another because their customs are different. Individuals may make jokes about the strange customs of other persons from other tribes, but this teasing by itself will not lead to serious disputes. If people do actually quarrel seriously on the ground of cultural differences, the reason is because these cultural differences are associated with serious political cleavages. (Smith and Hutchinson 84)

Kenyans easily begin to rally support for a politician simply because of his or her ethnic background, even when they know little about that politician. New civic and spiritual education will help condition the minds of the majority of Kenyans towards nationalism. A perception has been planted in the minds of the different Kenyan tribes that when they get a person from their ethnic group to assume the presidency, then everything about them will change, and they will have an advantage over the other communities. This fallacy has created unnecessary tension among the people. Some past leaders have abused their power and appointed people to key government and ambassadorial positions from one ethnic community, but this case is not always the norm.

Kenya needs to divorce ethnicity from political consideration and to establish principles that will govern political decisions on ideas other than ethnicity. As I have already established, ethnicity is a political phenomenon and will take a political action to address some of the underlying issues created by ethnic considerations. “Milosevic view is that, “ethnicity is first and foremost a political phenomenon” (Milosevic, 111). The relationship between political affiliation and regional ethnicity is an issue Kenyans have to overcome in order to liberate the nation from the peril of negative ethnicity.

The Dynamics of Religion and Politics

One of the issues to consider is the church's role in the politics of a nation. People have differing opinions on this matter, and in Kenya, different denominations hold different views. Some believe that the church should completely avoid any political involvement and no church leader should vie for elective political office. Another category of denominations demand that any pastor who aspires for a political office should resign from the ministry, pursue politics, and should not automatically assume the resigned position if he or she loses the desired political seat.

The outcome of the 2007 presidential elections plunged Kenya into the worse crisis ever experienced in the nation. In a seminar hosted by Compassion International in Nakuru town in the Rift Valley province, which brought pastors from the regions worse hit by the violence, none of the pastors present could identify the organizers, perpetrators, and financiers of the violence. As an invited speaker at the conference, I posed a question that no one was able to answer: "If none of us knows who organized and sponsored the destruction of both lives and property, then what would stop the same people from repeating it again in the future?"

Many people thought that church leaders failed the nation for not making the necessary interventions to evade the crisis:

One of the events that have surprised the observers of the Kenyan politics in the recent past is the participation of the clergy in politics and their role in ethnic and electoral conflicts. Equally troubling and perhaps less commented upon is the recent surge of evangelical political activism and the decline of mainstream churches in public affairs. (Kanyinga and Okello 101)

Something has changed the view of church ministry in the minds of several church leaders in Kenya in the last ten years. Clergy contest political positions, win political seats, and refuse to relinquish their pastoral roles. My honest opinion is that one cannot serve effectively in the political field and in the church at the same time.

Cultural factors such as ethnicity and religion have become more important in people's search for fundamentals in which to build their hopes for the future. Some people have tended to use religion as well as ethnicity as instruments for gaining political power. The emphasis of exclusiveness and primacy of one religion or ethnic group at the expense of the other brings a destructive aspect to democracy.

One example of the lowest form of moral decadence came in the form of people calling themselves Christians, setting churches on fire for political differences. Their reasons for these actions will remain unanswered in the minds of patriotic Kenyans for a long time. Perhaps the arson was a consequence or a symptom of moral degeneration or a symbolitic rebellion against a compromised and decaying church. According to Babere K. Chacha, "Ethnic cohesion tended to work against religious norms, whereby religious leaders *ethnicized* the pulpit and embraced various ethnic rather than religious identities" (102). The clergy who have gone into politics have subjected the church into ridicule, and following observation proves it.

The year 2007 provided a period of complete departure from the conventional relationship between religion and politics in Kenya. The clergy departed from being fishers of men to fishers of votes, so that the national religious delirium had reached fever pitch in a short time. Bishops, pastors, apostles, evangelists, and preachers declared their interest in civic, parliamentary, and even presidential elections. Consequently, the worst

type of political partisanship unfolded—leaders serving the god of Party of National Unity (PNU) and those serving the god of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM).

The proposed *strategy paper on national reconciliation* will seek to address this problem because in my view, this dilemma is one of the greatest indictments against the church in Kenya. Whereas other religious organizations can indulge in political engagement without much criticism, the church is expected to conduct itself differently. I believe that church involvement in politics should be regulated in such a way that guarantees impartiality in regard to ethnic diversities and also focuses on issues of contention based on values and ethics. Church leaders must guard against involvement in politics and keep a strategic and critical distance so as not to compromise their Christian witness or mislead the congregation; instead, they should use their spiritual potential to bring about peace, love, and growth in national reconciliation.

As a Kenyan church, and not limited to Kenya only, the church must address the issue of ethnic diversity prudently to ensure that the politics of the day do not foster divisions. I believe that all who belong to Christ should be governed by common principles that should be used as a measure to inform what political position to take during elections because Kenyans should participate as voters to influence outcomes of elections. In every election, politicians from different ethnic groups use money to buy the support of some church leaders. Church leaders need to come up with a debated and agreeable method that will keep church leaders across our different ethnic difference together. “The contention is whether unity in Christ, which was so precious to Paul, undermined all ethnic difference. Did he think that Jews had to stop being Jews, now that they were Christians? In ethnic terms, did Christian unity that a minority ethnicity like

Judaism should be assimilated into a bigger ethnic identity?" (Hughes 60). Becoming Christian does not change their ethnic identities, but it changes their attitude towards other people regardless of their ethnicity.

I believe that Christians can celebrate unity in diversity, and politicians should not be able to divide church leaders on ethnic lines. The challenge to overcome is the financial instability of some of the church leaders who become easy prey of scavaging politicians looking for votes on ethnic grounds. Probably, the time has come for different denominations to rewrite their constitutions to demand that any church leader who compromises the unity of the church for political gain to be excommunicated, for the Kenyan church to put value in the unity of the body of Christ nationally, across denominations, and for the church to shame and expose its leaders who always antagonize the body of Christ for their selfish interests.

The Theology of Reconciliation

The theology of reconciliation can be both complex and philosophical as found in the issues raised by Miroslav Volf in his book *Exclusion and Embrace*. Church leaders must simplify the issue of reconciliation so that everyone will understand it. Churches in countries where ethnic conflicts recur often should strategically engage the citizenry with biblical lessons on creation and God's purpose for people to experience meaningful and selfless relationships:

The politics of difference rests on two basic persuasions. First, the identity of a person is inescapably marked by the particularities of the social setting in which he or she is born and develops. In identifying with parental figures, peers groups, teachers, religious authorities, and community leaders, one does not identify with them simply as human being, but also with their investment in a particular language, religion, customs, their construction of gender and racial difference, etc. Second,

since the identity is partly shaped by recognition we receive from the social setting in which we live. (19)

The two presuppositions of the politics of difference reveal the growing awareness of cultural heterogeneity brought about by economic and technological developments. These presuppositions shows why *tribal* identity is today asserting itself as a powerful force, especially where issues of extreme imbalances of power and wealth are a concern. In Kenya, the imbalance of wealth and power among its forty-two ethnic groups is a great concern.

Appreciating the fact that believers are to express the image of God indiscriminately, Christians should be able to find pleasure in unity. As the salt of the earth, the church should always use its flavor to influence others to seek the value of harmony. The impact of the church in society is the only hope of peace and reconciliation, Jesus committed unto his followers the ministry of reconciliation.

I wish to reiterate the church's mandate as captured in the "Lausanne Covenant" of 1974:

We affirm that God is both the creator and the judge of all people. We therefore should share His concern for justice and reconciliation through human society and for the liberation of men and women from every kind of oppression, because men and women are made in the image of God. Every person regardless of race, religion, color, culture, class, sex, or age has an intrinsic dignity because of which he or she should be respected and served but not exploited.

This truth should be proclaimed everywhere so that all may hear it and rehearse it to their children. This fundamental truth when applied has the capacity to change communities and nations, so that human dignity is restored in every society. This process is a continuous, and it cannot be abated because the world is evolving and people continue to change and bring new challenges to the surface.

No other biblical text describes better the anatomy, dynamics, and power of exclusion than the story of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:1-16). On the surface, the story is a narrative about one brother killing the other; however, Cain can be taken to allude to the Kenites, the descendants of Cain and Israel's southern neighbors. The story of Cain and Abel is not only an example of rivalry between two brothers, but it narrates the structure between *them* and *us*—the Kenites who were unwilling to accept a special grace that the Israelites had received from God, as manifest in the blessings of King David's rule. The rivalry expressed by Cain against Abel is typical to what exists among many people groups around the world. We are called upon to embrace each other as brethren regardless our ethnic differences because that is what Jesus taught and exemplified:

The practice of “embrace” with its concomitant struggle against deception, injustice, and violence, is intelligible only against the backdrop of a powerful, contagious, and destructive evil I call “exclusion” and is for Christians possible only if, in the name of God's crucified Messiah, we distance ourselves from ourselves and our cultures in order to create a space for the other. (Volf 30)

An individual must have strong moral character to overcome self-interests that border on ethnic loyalties, but through Christ, it can be done. No simple solutions towards unity exist, and the need to embrace each other is universal.

The mission of God in this fallen, broken world is reconciliation. Sacred Scripture witnesses that God's mission of reconciliation is holistic, including relationships with God, self, others, and creation:

Reconciliation is God's initiative, restoring a broken world to God's intentions by reconciling “to himself all things” through Christ (Col. 1:20); the relationship between people and God, between people, and with God's created earth. Christians participate with God by being transformed into ambassadors of reconciliation. (Rice 5)

Believers are enjoined to Christ's ministry of reconciliation, for God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself and has committed to us the ministry of reconciliation,

God was in Christ reconciling the world unto him, and he has committed unto his followers the ministry of reconciliation. The church needs to reconcile people to God and, in the same manner, reconcile people to people. The Apostle Paul's concepts describe what forms the basis of unity:

Paul's thinking does not begin with the distinction that divide people from one another, but from that which is common to them all—their distance from God and degree of response to him. He goes on to describe the Christian community as consisting of those (irrespective of nationality, social position, or sex) who acknowledge the death and resurrection of Christ, experience the power of the Spirit in their lives.... (Banks 114)

Without Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit, guiding people to reconciliation would be difficult. Paul's stress of unity is not so much upon the unity of Jews and Greeks, free and slaves, and men and women with one another, as upon their unity in Christ.

The African culture accommodates religious beliefs, and that is why Christian nominalism is a big challenge in most countries in Africa. Some Kenyans have mixed religion with tradition and their faith is compromised.

In tribal religion, religion is as wide as life, and all of life is religious. War has, throughout human history, been an integral part of the life of most societies; as such, it has been regarded as a religious activity, to be surrounded with prayer, ritual, sacrifice and purification. (Ferguson 17)

Regrettably, war is considered to be an integral part of humanity from one generation to another. The church has a great responsibility to sow strategic seeds of reconciliation to all Kenyans indiscriminately.

The church has had a role in the enhancement of nationalism in the context of reconciliation. Therefore, the church must refuse to be pushed out from social involvement by politicians:

The church has been the incubator of African nationalism; but since political independence, its prophetic role has declined and the new generation of African theologians concentrates on cultural issues rather than on social-political matters, or accepts current policies in their own countries. (Ferre and Mataragnon 85)

Frederick Ferre and Rita H. Mataragnon raise a concern that needs close evaluation. The church should never compromise its God-given role to incubate peace and reconciliation. A serious indictment against the church is for it to have declined in its prophetic role and for its theologians to have changed focus from social political matters to cultural issues. The time has come for the church to seek restoration that will cause it to regain its lost status so that once again the African church and its theologians can be celebrated for playing their God-given role on the social and economic front.

Summary

The literature has incorporated different thoughts and opinions drawn from many authors who have attempted to give ideas that can help resolve the challenge of racial and ethnic conflicts, which take center stage in the mainstream media on a daily basis. This challenge is universal, and the United Nations is always busy addressing issues of countries around the globe that are faced with interethnic conflicts.

I have also referred to current debates and commentaries in Kenya's media because this issue is very emotional as Kenyans come to terms with the unprecedented losses suffered during the violence and destruction of both life and property following the disputed presidential results of the 2007 general elections. Most Kenyans are yearning for

a solution, whichever way it comes, that will assure them of peaceful coexistence. They are yearning for the finalization of a new constitution that will treat everyone equally for those who aspire for civil, county, regional, and national positions during the elections and also address the issues of how to deal with those given to corruption, nepotism, tribalism, and a culture of impunity.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

I constituted a caucus from the leadership team of Deliverance Church Langata who worked closely with me in the development of a questionnaire that became the instrument of my research. After developing the questionnaire, we administered a pretest to determine the credibility of the questionnaires before executing the main research to be done later. We managed to collect data from seven church leaders drawn from different ethnic groups of Kenya, six politicians drawn from the four main political parties, three administrators, and one professional during the pretest. We then brought the data together and analyzed the main themes to establish what the common opinion of most leaders was in responding to the questionnaire. In the main research, we collected data from respondents: thirty-six professional, twenty clergymen, and nine politicians. We repeated what we did with the pretest data as a posttest, which informed chapter 4 and 5 of my dissertation.

Problem and Purpose

Since the introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1992, every general election has been bloody. Tribalism has been one of Kenya's greatest undoing. The church needed to develop a practical strategy of breaking down the cycle of ethnic violence that threatened to tear Kenya apart in January and February 2008 following the disputed presidential results of the December 2007 general elections. The church needed to define and clarify the structures that had to be put in place to strengthen nationhood and tear down the culture of negative ethnicity. The Kenyan church needs to design some

proposals in the form of policies that parliament can enact into law for the enhancement of authentic ethnic integration.

The purpose of this exploratory survey was to develop a *National Reconciliation Strategy Proposal* that would be an instrument in the hands of church and government leaders to guide the nation in overcoming ethnic hostility. I prepared the strategy paper with the help of the caucus from our church, who served as a think tank in the development of the strategy proposal, based on analysis obtained from both the church leaders and political leaders from all over Kenya, using an exploratory qualitative questionnaire. We completed the first phase of the exercise within a period of about eight months.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Three foundational research questions guided the collection of data for this study. The research questions address data that informed us what opinion leaders held regarding the challenge of negative ethnicity in Kenya. These three questions served as the foundation of all the other questions in the questionnaires.

Research Question #1

What are the factors that cause ethnic conflicts and hostilities evidenced by violence in Kenya's electoral processes? This question seeks to establish the main causes of ethnic conflicts that characterize our electoral process since the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1992.

Research Question #2

What are the factors that influence and promote negative ethnicity in Kenya?

Research Questions #3

What is the role of the church in national reconciliation, and what are the essential structures needed to sustain peaceful coexistence devoid of tribalism?

The research hypothesis was informed by the experience Kenya underwent after the disputed presidential results of the 2007 elections. In every electioneering year since independence, Kenya has lost lives resulting from conflicts that generate from political and ethnic differences.

Participants

The research project was an exploratory qualitative survey, obtained through questionnaires whose respondents were leaders drawn from the whole nation to ensure that all forty-two tribes that constitute Kenya own the final strategy proposal document. Broad participation of leaders from seven of eight provinces guaranteed well-balanced data. Three levels of participation was executed. The first level were the respondents to the questionnaire, who included church leaders, politicians and professionals, who served as my focus group. These national church and political leaders were men and women who had demonstrated nationalism and were literate enough to engage with the questionnaires. The second level involved a carefully selected group of church leaders for a one on one interview to seek their personal opinions on the most contentious issues. The third and final level involved a few leaders from each of the three categories, namely clergy, professionals, and politicians for a panel discussion

The caucus engaged church leaders drawn from different regions of Kenya, both from the church, the corporate sector, and political sectors. We structured the design to specifically guide the respondents in identifying the causes of ethnic conflicts in Kenya,

which seemed to arise during every political election, and how the church could address the problem of negative ethnicity. The caucus targeted leaders with a wide view of what goes on in the nation, and men and women with a passion for peace and harmony for the nation.

The Caucus or Consultant Group

I conducted this study with the help of a caucus group, whose task was advisory; they operated as a think tank to gather, correlate, and make critical analysis of all the data obtained the three category of participants, eg, the national church leaders, politicians, and corporate leaders. I constituted the caucus team from members of the Deliverance Church leadership council based on their spiritual, academic, and regional diversity.

Table 3.1. List of Participants

	NAME	PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE	EDUCATION LEVEL	PROVINCE OF BIRTH
1	Onesmus G. Weru	Nairobi	Degree (BTH)	Central
2	Amos Chebon	Rift Valley	MBA, B.Ed	Rift Valley
3	Mrs. Sheila Kiambati	Nairobi	Master in International Relations (Candidate)	Central
3	George Kamau	Nairobi	M B A	Nairobi
4	Peter K. Kanyora	Nairobi	MSc, MA	Central
5	Dan Anduvate	Nairobi	BA (MA, student)	Western
6	Eunice Sawe	Nairobi	LLB (Bachelor of law)	Rift Valley
7	Stephen Masha	Nairobi	MSc	Coast
8	Joseph O. Ageyo	Rift Valley	MSc	Nyanza
9	Martha King'oo	Nairobi	BA	Eastern
10	Wycliffe Odongo	Nairobi	Msc	Nyanza
11	Pst. Ezekiel Kioko	Rift Valley	BSc (MA Student)	Eastern

Note—More information about the caucus in Appendix A

Design of the Study

I began by appointing a caucus to serve as a think tank to help me in the entire process of the project study. In the first meeting held on 14 March 2009, the caucus came up with the terms of reference to guide the process.

The second agenda was to design a questionnaire that would be suitable for the development of a credible strategy paper.

The caucus then listed the potential leaders both from the church and from political sectors who would qualify to engage with the process by receiving the questionnaire. The caucus then distributed the questionnaire as a hard copy with a self-addressed stamped envelope to enable each respondent to return the questionnaire after completing the exercise with an allowance of thirty days. Unfortunately, I disqualified some of the respondents because they failed to turn in their completed questionnaires in good time.

The caucus then scheduled a meeting to correlate and analyze the data collected from all the respondents. During the final phase of the research, we made some changes on the questionnaires informed by the pretest.

We dispatched questions to more than one hundred respondents drawn from clergy, professionals, and politicians. Thirty-six professionals, twenty clergymen and nine politicians responded. They analyzed and correlated the data and chose twelve issues to inform the national reconciliation strategy proposal.(see figure 3.1)

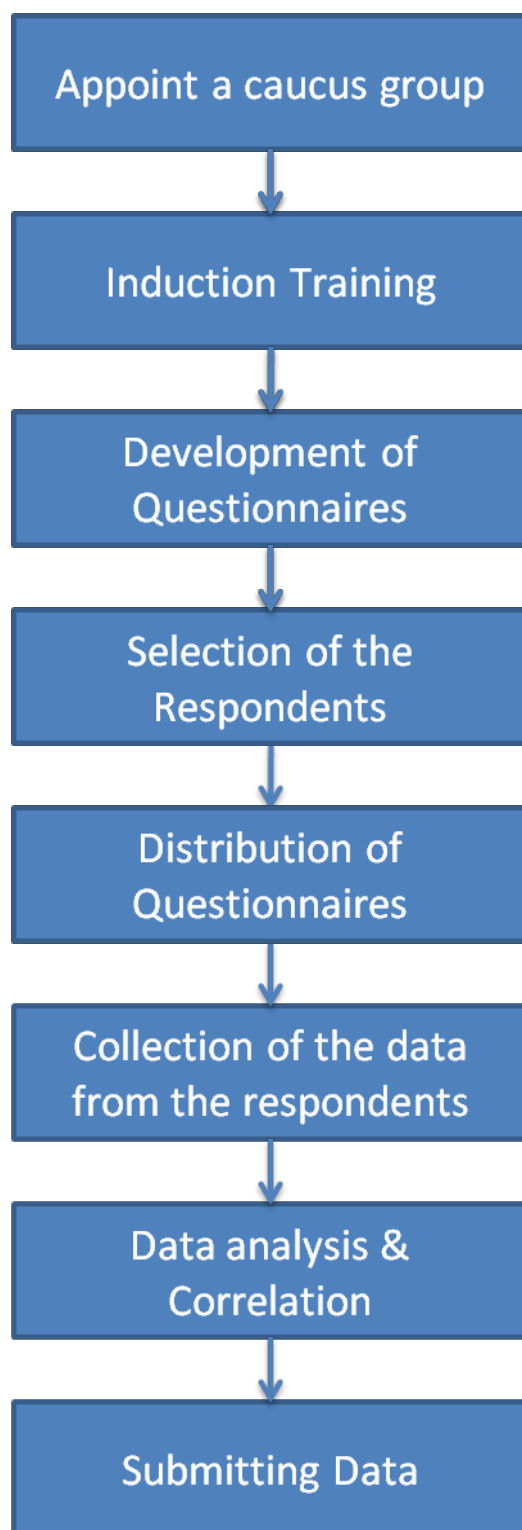
Phase 1 Research Flowchart

Figure 3.1. Phase 1—research flow chart.

Instruments

In consultation with the caucus, I designed the questionnaire, which became the instrument for data collection for both the pretest and posttest. (See Appendix C).

Pilot Test

The caucus considered seventeen national leaders from the religious sector, from the political sector, and from professionals and administrators for the pilot test. They all responded to the questionnaire before holding any corporate discussions.

After all the questionnaire responses were received back from the respondents, the caucus team came together for a half-day meeting in which we correlated the data and completed an analysis (see Appendix D).

Mediating Entities

The church plays a key role as a mediating entity in peace building initiatives. The church in Kenya has what it takes to influence the whole nation. However, her influence has been compromised by some of her leaders who receive money and gifts from the politicians to support them. Nevertheless, the church remains one single institution that will transform Kenya provided that it speaks as one. The government is definitely an intervening variable. The government controls the state machinery to maintain law and order. It should therefore, use the machinery at its disposal to ensure that Kenyans live together in peace and harmony.

I believe that leaders of every community should serve as mediating variables. I regret to admit that some of the community leaders in the areas hard hit during the ethnic violence that Kenya experienced after the disputed presidential results of 2007 fueled such violence.

Reliability and Validity

The conclusions of this research represent the views of a carefully chosen group of leaders from the corporate, religious, and political sectors. The respondents were all experienced leaders of impeccable character in the public sector and therefore their views can earn credibility. The credibility of the respondents was a serious consideration because the validity of the document produced depends on the character quality of the men and women whose views informed the strategy paper. The validity of the document produced as a final product is of critical importance, to achieve the desired end of unifying the whole country and overcoming all forms of ethnic conflicts, especially during national elections.

We collected from a wide representation of people from seven of the eight provinces and therefore, its validity is commendable. This collection adds value to the document because the same leaders own the recommendations made in the strategy paper. The strategy paper will reach the grassroots through these leaders. The consistency and authenticity of the recommendations made in the strategy paper will go far in the advancement of the key objective of national reconciliation.

The caucus was able to measure all the data received from the exploratory qualitative survey questionnaires. Based on the hypothesis presented in the questionnaire, and the responses we obtained, the caucus was able to confirm reliability

Data Collection

The caucus observed that of the seventeen respondents of the questionnaires, twelve of them had experienced negative ethnicity. One former Member of Parliament stated that his ethnic community was expected to hate another community. One of the

clergy stated that negative ethnicity fuels conflicts and hatred between people of different people groups.

One of the church leaders decried discrimination of employment on ethnic grounds. He shared a situation where a more qualified person was denied employment on ethnic basis. A member of parliament stated in the questionnaire that leaders have failed to promote nationhood for the sake of ethnic expediency. How long discarding tribalism in Kenya will take is difficult to predict.

According to one of the church leaders, evidence exists of unjustified ethnic prejudices, and even in the church, one does not find people of different ethnic backgrounds living together. In some quarters, inter-ethnic marriages are discouraged. Another church leader stated that because of tribalism one was denied a rental house. One church leader stated that he was denied appointment to a position he qualified for on ethnic grounds, and was marginalized when land was being distributed.

One of the Members of Parliament claimed that he was threatened in a hotel because of his tribal identity. One claimed that government services are not standardized, and some people get better services than others do. Another Member of Parliament admitted that tribalism is evident in many workplaces, and unfair distribution of resources occasioned by ethnic imbalances in key government positions is a reality. The caucus group helped me to subject the collected data to a critical analysis, I have attached the analysis data and even extracted information that establishes critical leads that will enable us to process the strategy paper.

The main research findings confirmed all the views expressed by the pretest. Of the sixty-five respondents, 95 percent said that the politicians bear the greatest blame for the national ethnic conflicts.

Data Analysis

The caucus used the Likert scale to determine how issues were proposed using the terms, *strongly agree*, *agree*, *disagree*, and *strongly disagree*. The caucus examined several factors that it thought could be promoting negative ethnicity. I distributed the completed questionnaires to each member of the caucus group to ensure nothing was lost, because each of us has different ways of determining data. The caucus group agreed on how to classify the data, what to discard, and what to take to the next level of the process. The caucus group then proposed a two day retreat to enable it to finalize the data analysis, draft the strategy paper, and to be informed by the survey findings.

Ethical Procedures

The questionnaires distributed were numbered and I held the names corresponding with the numbers in my personal diary. None of the caucus would be able to tell which leader responded in which way. The caucus could only distinguish between the religious leaders and the politicians as we correlated the data. No names appeared in the questionnaires, and therefore the respondents were assured privacy and protection.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Having collected the data from sixty-five people, the following are the findings obtained from the questionnaires presented to the three categories of respondents, namely the clergy, the politicians, and the professionals. We obtained the data from thirty-six professionals, twenty church leaders, and nine politicians, bringing the total respondents to sixty-five.

Factors Promoting Ethnic Hostilities

In this section of data analysis, we shall focus on the factors that scored highly as having promoted ethnic hostilities.

Ownership and Distribution of Land

Eighteen of the twenty church leaders agreed that *land ownership* and its *distribution* contributed to ethnic hostilities in Kenya. Thirty-three of the thirty-six professionals who responded took a similar position with clergy, and all the nine politicians agreed. Of the sixty-one respondents, 91.1 percent agreed that land ownership and distribution contributed towards ethnic violence. The Kenya government has laid strategies to engage the citizenry in understanding the Land Reforms Act.(See Table 4.1)

Redrawing of the Administrative Boundaries

Concerning whether redrawing administrative boundaries would ease interethnic conflicts, fourteen of the twenty church leaders said no, four of the politicians said no, and twenty-two out of the thirty-six professionals said no. A percentage of 61.5 did not agree with the sentiments. According to one church leader, greed for more land and economic advantage is the cause of interethnic conflicts as opposed to boundaries. As

already stated, the issue of administrative boundaries is very emotive, and leaders need to appeal for sobriety. The commissions tasked with redrawing the boundaries need to develop some regulations that govern the way boundaries are created. (See Table 4.1)

High Level of Poverty

Thirteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed that a *high-level of poverty* was a contributing factor, with eight of the nine politicians also agreeing, and twenty-seven of the thirty-six professionals also endorsing these sentiments. Therefore 76.2 percent agreed that high poverty level contributed to ethnic strife and violence. (See Table 4.1)

Inequitable Distribution of National Resources

Twelve out of the twenty church leaders agreed that *inequitable distribution of national resources* contributed to ethnic hostilities whereas eight out of nine politicians agreed and twenty-seven out of thirty-six professionals agreed. Of the total respondents, 76.2 percent agreed with the sentiments under review. (See Table 4.1)

Administrative Boundaries

Fifteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed that *administrative boundaries* contributed to ethnic hostilities in Kenya, with eight politicians agreeing with them and twenty-nine out of the thirty-six professionals also agreeing. Therefore, 81.4 percent of the total respondents agreed. The issue of administrative boundaries is very emotive in Kenya and many times, conflicts related to administrative boundaries turn bloody because of different families' and clan's interests. Kenya is going through a boundaries review to raise the number of constituencies; the boundaries for the forty-seven counties are yet to be finalized. The report by the interim boundaries commission was contested

and rejected and will be subjected to the yet to be formed Electoral and Boundaries Commission.

Illiteracy

Sixteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed that *illiteracy* contributed to ethnic hostilities, whereas six out of the nine politicians and twenty out of the thirty-six professionals agreed. Therefore, 67.3 percent of the total respondents agreed. A very big percentage of Kenyans, especially in the rural areas, are illiterate and, therefore, very vulnerable to incitement by the political class. The government has not been able to build sufficient schools across the country, and some of the schools in some sections of Kenya are in dilapidated conditions that make learning difficult. Though the Kenyan church is contributing towards the development of schools, financial constraints make many churches unable to engage in the eradication of illiteracy. Illiteracy increases poverty in that an illiterate person cannot reinvent themselves through macro-financing projects. Any form of business requires a certain level of literacy.(See Table 4.1)

Religious Affiliation

Six out of the twenty church leaders agreed that *religious affiliation* contributed to ethnic hostilities. Four out of nine politicians were in agreement on the same, whereas eighteen out of the thirty-six professionals also agreed. A total of 41.4 percent of the respondents agreed.(See Table 4.1)

Political Affiliation

For *political affiliation* being a factor in ethnic hostilities, nineteen out of the twenty church leaders drawn from seven out of the eight provinces of Kenya agreed, with eight out of the nine politicians agreeing and thirty-five of the thirty-six professionals

also agreeing with the statement. Of the total respondents, 93.6 percent held to the same opinion. Most of the respondents believe that political affiliation is the greatest impediment that threatens national reconciliation. Kenya has over three hundred registered political parties and these numbers only reveal the level of divisiveness. Certain political parties can thrive in certain ethnic blocks and with forty-two ethnic groups, the dominant ethnic groups form political blocks that give them advantages over the smaller ethnic groups. (See Table 4.1)

The most regrettable fact though is the use of money to influence voters. People win political positions not because of their leadership capability, but because of how much money they can distribute. The average citizen does not care about the moral or ethical factors of the candidates. In a recent by-election in one of the constituencies in Nairobi Province, a certain man was voted in as a member of parliament just because of the amount of money he gave and, after winning, he confessed that he has to ask some politicians to teach him what to do, when he goes to parliament because he has no idea. Violence in political rallies is a common phenomenon sometimes having nothing to do with ethnicity, but rivalry between the competing candidates—when evil politicians hire young people to rain terror on the supporters of their contenders. This culture of violence is something that is so disturbing in Kenya's political landscape. The time has come for leaders of every sector of society to condemn ethnic based political affiliation and support parties that cut across Kenya's ethnic diversities.

Corruption in Public Office Accelerating Ethnic Conflicts

Sixteen out of the nineteen church leaders agreed, eight of the nine politicians agreed, and thirty of the thirty-six professionals also agreed. This outcome represents 85.4 percent.(See Table 4.1)

Widespread Unemployment

Eighteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed that *widespread unemployment* contributed to ethnic hostilities, and all nine politicians shared the same sentiments, whereas thirty-one of the professionals agreed. Of the total respondents, 92 percent agreed. A large percentage of the respondents believe that unemployment is a big factor in ethnic hostilities. The unemployed youth become an easy prey for politicians to use them any way they choose. The mayhem and wanton destruction of both lives and property that followed Kenya's 2007 disputed presidential results were carried out by youth for pay, according to the Waki report(529 pp). These were jobless young people who were easily brought together to commit crimes against humanity. The violence and destruction of lives and property was such a shameful turn of events for a country that prides itself as being Christian and a serious indictment against the church in Kenya.(See Table 4.1)

Does the Kenyan church play a positive role in national reconciliation?

Table 4.1. Factors That Promote Ethnic Hostility

Factors That Promote Ethnic Hostility	Church Leaders %	Professionals %	Politicians %	Weight %
Ownership and distribution of land	90.0	83.3	100.0	91.1
A High-Level of Poverty	65.0	75.0	88.0	76.2
Administrative boundaries	75.0	80.5	88.8	81.4
Illiteracy	80.0	55.5	66.6	67.3
Religious Affiliation	30.0	50.0	44.4	41.4
Political affiliation	95.0	97.2	88.8	93.6
Widespread unemployment	90.0	86.1	100.0	92.0
Corruption in public offices	84.2	83.3	88.8	85.4
Inequitable distribution of national resources	60.0	75.0	88.8	76.7

Research question No 2 focuses on the factors that influence and promote negative ethnicity. Negative ethnicity is the root cause of rampant tribalism in our country and all patriotic leaders must arise and wage war against this vice.

Factors Promoting Negative Ethnicity

In this section we respond to research question No 2 and examine each factor, and indicating the data analysis accordingly. These are factors that influence negative ethnicity which generate to ethnic hostilities.

Quota Educational System

The *quota educational system* is a factor that promotes negative ethnicity as twenty-seven out of thirty-six professionals agreed, some of them strongly. Fifteen out of twenty church leaders agreed on this factor, and six out of nine politicians agreed. As a result, 73.8 percent believe that the quota educational system promoted negative ethnicity. My sincere opinion is that a proper education system can easily destroy negative ethnicity if the key players develop policies that condemn it.(See Table 4.2)

Ethnic Upbringing

On *ethnic upbringing* being a factor that promoted negative ethnicity, thirty out of thirty-six professionals agreed, sixteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed, and six out of nine politicians agreed. This result means that 80 percent of the total respondents believe that individual ethnic upbringing was a factor towards negative ethnicity. A culture of suspicion and mistrust has been perpetuated from generation to generation; therefore, great determination will be required to eradicate the culture of negative ethnicity. I believe that the church has a great responsibility to advocate for restoration of the lost trust between Kenya's different ethnic groups. (See Table 4.2)

Religious Leaders

On *religious leaders* contributing towards negative ethnicity, eighteen out of thirty-six professionals agreed, eleven out of the twenty church leaders agreed, and four out of nine politicians also agreed. Approximately half or 50.8 percent of the total respondents agreed that religious leaders could blame for promoting negative ethnicity. Jesus embraced people of all nationalities, therefore, no one has a justifiable reason to promote negative ethnicity. (See Table 4.2)

Vernacular FM Radio Station

On *vernacular FM radio stations* being a factor that promotes negative ethnicity, twenty-nine out of the thirty-six professionals agreed, most of them strongly agreeing, nineteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed, eleven of them strongly agreeing, and six out of nine politicians agreed. Therefore, 83.1 percent of the sixty-five respondents believe that the vernacular FM radio stations were promoting negative ethnicity. This data was not surprising because the vernacular radio stations have been used to

communicating messages of incitement towards other communities. During the December 2007 to February 2008 violence, a local KASS FM radio station was very instrumental in agitating the militia groups that went on a rampage, burning and destroying homes. The program producer, along with five others, is being investigated by the international criminal court for crimes against humanity. The vernacular FM radio stations cannot be banned due to the illiteracy levels all over Kenya. The government should put more stringent measures to censor them with a goal of ensuring that no one uses them to promote negative ethnicity (see Table 4.2).

Political Leaders

On *political leaders* being a factor promoting negative ethnicity, thirty-five out of the thirty-six professionals agreed, eighteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed, and six out of nine politicians agreed. Therefore, 90.8 percent of the total respondents believe that politicians promote negative ethnicity in Kenya. Once again, this evaluation was an honest assessment; therefore, the over 90 percent condemnation served as proof of this fact. Most of the Kenyan politicians thrive on ethnic expediency. Regrettably, some Kenyans are not liberated from tribal-based politics. The church must continue to crusade for unity among the peoples of Kenya and to advocate for national reconciliation (see Table 4.2).

Mainstream Media

On *mainstream media* being a factor that contributed to negative ethnicity, twenty out of the thirty-six professionals agreed, fourteen out of the twenty church leaders agreed, and four out of nine politicians, so 58.5 percent of the total respondents believe that the mainstream media also promoted negative ethnicity (see Table 4.2).

Not surprisingly, a sizeable percentage believes that the mainstream media influences negative ethnicity because a degree of the media is affected by the vernacular FM media stations. The church has a duty to put pressure on the government to remain firm on the legal actions against those that violate the ethical standards of journalism. If the Kenyan government remains firm and takes punitive measures against those who misuse the media by promoting negative ethnicity, then these prejudices will reduce significantly.

Table 4.2. Factors That Promote Negative Ethnicity

Factors Promoting Negative Ethnicity	Church Leaders %	Professionals %	Politicians %	Weight %
Quota educational system	75	75.0	66.6	72.2
Ethnic upbringing	80	83.3	66.6	76.6
Religious leaders	55	50.0	44.4	49.8
Vernacular radio stations	95	80.5	66.6	80.7
Political leaders	90	97.2	66.6	84.6
Mainstream media	70	55.5	44.4	56.6

Negative Ethnicity and Nepotism

Twenty-five out of thirty-six professionals said ethnicity was negative. Fourteen out of twenty church leaders said the concept was negative, and four out of nine politicians said it was negative. Therefore, 66.2 percent of the total respondents said ethnicity was negative. Giving reasons for his answer, one church leader said ethnicity has divided Kenyans along tribal lines, and we have had tribal clashes taking place especially in the Rift Valley province.

One of the politicians said that ethnicity was the reason for nepotism and discrimination along ethnic lines. Most professionals said that ethnicity was negative because nepotism has marginalized some communities, tends to favor tribal loyalty on job allocations, and causes unequal distribution of resources. Ethnicity has led to division in society, which has led to slow development in some areas.

For church leaders who said ethnicity was positive, they restated the fact that ethnicity advances coexistence in diversity. One professional cited the advantages that come with diversity in skills: Luos are academicians; Kikuyus are managers and businessmen; Luhyas are good artists and administrators. Kalenjins are sportsmen, and have earned Kenya much foreign exchange through sports. Ethnicity gives someone identity.

Subjection to Negative Ethnicity

Concerning those who had experienced negative ethnicity, seven out of the nine politicians had experienced this adversity. Twenty-nine out of the thirty-six professionals had experienced negative ethnicity, and fourteen out of the twenty church leaders had experienced it. Therefore 76.9 percent of the total respondents had experienced negative ethnicity.

Those who had experienced negative ethnicity cited the following examples; discrimination in employment and discrimination for admission into public institutions. One church leader's house was burned down in 1992 in Burnt Forest because he was considered a stranger in the Rift Valley province. Two church leaders lost their church buildings through arson because the bishop was from a certain ethnic community. A

certain church leader was displaced from West Pokot and stayed in open showground in Kitale town for six months.

A daughter to one of the professionals was denied scholarship because he was not from a certain tribe. One of the professionals said that during his wedding, his wife was rejected by some people because she was of a different ethnic community. Another professional was denied a consultancy contract in an organization led by a person who comes from an ethnic group traditionally considered unfriendly to his own group. One politician witnessed an attack based on ethnic grounds on a colleague that landed him in hospital for a week. The attack took place at a college.

The Role of the Church in Promoting National Reconciliation

Last, but of paramount importance, was research question #3, which sought to define the role of the church in national reconciliation. In this question as to whether the Kenyan church plays a positive role in the enhancement of national reconciliation, twelve out of the twenty church leaders were in the affirmative, whereas six out of the nine politicians did not agree. Fourteen of the thirty-six professionals agreed that the church plays a positive role. Only 42.6 percent of the sixty-five respondents agreed. The analysis shows that a big percentage of the respondents believe that the church is not doing enough to strengthen national reconciliation.

Most of the clergy thought that the church is non-ethnic in doctrine and operations. The gospel recognizes and affirms diversity. The church is one body in Christ and therefore is not subject to division on ethnic lines. The church has always played a pivotal role in addressing the plight of victims of ethnic violence. The church should

regularly hold joint prayer meetings and rallies to continue enhancing national reconciliation.

Those who believed that the church was not playing a positive role cited the fact that some churches have memberships drawn from certain ethnic communities and refuse leadership from other ethnic communities. In Kenya, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and Friends Church (Quakers) are a good example. The Presbyterian Church is dominated by the Kikuyus of Central province, the Merus of upper Eastern province dominate the Methodist Church, and the Friends Church (Quakers) is dominated by the Luhyas of Western province.

Those politicians, who did not agree, say that during the 2007 elections, most of the church leaders took sides with political leaders from their ethnic communities. The politicians who agreed said that the church is best suited to enhance national reconciliations.

Professionals who agreed with the fact that the church plays an important role stated that the church preaches peace and encourages different ethnic communities to coexist peaceably. The church is a unifying factor. The church carries out guidance and counseling seminars on national reconciliation, which enhances love and accommodation. The church leaders preach the Word of God to enhance unity and to explain the reason why people should live as brothers and sisters.

The church is mostly all-inclusive and it maintains a prophetic role to enhance national reconciliation. Most churches in the urban centers are cosmopolitan and thereby practice peaceful coexistence between people of different ethnic communities.

Bearing the fact that the church is spread out all over Kenya except in areas that are predominantly Islam, if leaders live above ethnic loyalties, they have the essential structures to influence many Kenyans towards national reconciliation. The church serves all without discrimination and preaches Christian unity. The outreach of the gospel goes to every part of Kenya.

Those who opposed this view lamented the fact that political leaders influenced some churches. Churches were compromised to support their own, along ethnic lines during the 2007 elections. Some of the professionals stated that the church has become political. Others felt that the presence of the church influence was not felt during the 2007 post-election violence.

Factors That Enhance National Reconciliation

On the question of how to rate certain conditions in relation to preventing and eradicating ethnic conflicts and enhance national reconciliation in Kenya, the following are the findings:

Political Will

Forty-nine of the fifty-six respondents said political will was very important, whereas seven deemed it important, bringing the number of those who believe that political will is important to fifty-six—100 percent of those who responded. Nine people did not respond to this question because the grand total of the respondents was sixty-five.

Divine Intervention in Answer to Prayer

Fifty-one of the fifty-five respondents said prayer was important, and four people thought it not important. This result means that 92.7 percent of the respondents believe divine intervention will prevent ethnic conflict.

Involvement of Religious Groups

Fifty-two of the fifty-five respondents said that religious groups would play an important role in preventing and eradicating ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Only three said religious groups' involvement was least important while 94.5 percent said involvement by religious groups is essential.

Educational Status

Forty-nine of the fifty-three respondents to this question said that education would be important in the prevention of conflicts; 92.5 percent said educational level would enhance national reconciliation.

Economic Stability

Fifty-three out of the fifty-three respondents to this question indicated that economic stability was important. This result means that 100 percent considered it important.

Media

Fifty-one of the fifty-three respondents to this question believe that media has an important role to play in the prevention and eradication of conflicts in Kenya. This outcome represents 96.2 percent.

Council of Elders

Thirty-eight of the fifty respondents to this question believed that the councils of elders from the different communities in Kenya have an important role to play in the prevention and eradication of conflicts in Kenya. This result represents 76 percent.

Donor Dependency

In the question of donor dependency (i.e., money borrowed or received from other countries) affecting Kenya's national reconciliation, ten out of the nineteen church leaders agreed and eight of the nine politicians agreed, whereas twelve of the thirty-six professionals agreed. Therefore, only 46.9 percent agreed.

Additional Findings

Given the fact that the questionnaire covered a broad spectrum, we were able to gather additional information that supports the argument of what contributes to national disharmony. This section highlights the supplementary factors that Kenyan leaders need to address in order to strengthen the structures for national reconciliation.

Politicians Using Ethnic Identity for Political Expediency

Nineteen out of the nineteen church leaders who participated in the survey believe that Kenyan politicians use ethnic identity to pursue their political ambition. Most strongly agreeing, eight out of the nine politicians agreed, whereas thirty-three out of the thirty-six professionals also agreed. Therefore, 93.8 percent of the total respondents agreed. My observation has been that most Kenyans consider politicians to be the greatest liabilities in their pursuit for national reconciliation.

Vigilante/Militia Groups and Other Tribal Warriors

Seventeen out of the nineteen church leaders agreed, eight of the nine politicians agreed, and thirty of the thirty-six professionals agreed. This result is 85.9 percent of the total respondents

Poor Implementation of Government Policies

Poor implementation of government policies has continued to increase the gap between the rich and the poor. Eighteen out of nineteen church leaders agreed, all the nine politicians surveyed agreed, and thirty-five of the thirty-six professionals agreed. This total is 96.9 percent of the respondents.

Bad Individual Choices

Fourteen of the nineteen church leaders agreed, eight of the nine politicians agreed, and thirteen of the thirty-six professionals agreed that when people make bad choices these choices affect their own social situation as well as the situations of the people around them. Evidently, most of the professionals and the politicians hold considerably different views on this matter. Of the total respondents, 54.7 percent agreed.

Lack of Awareness of Rights and Freedom

Eleven out of the nineteen church leaders agreed, five out of the nine politicians agreed, and thirteen out of thirty-six professionals agreed that people are not even aware of their personal rights and freedoms within society, which affects how they engage the government in petitioning for services. This outcome is only 45.3 percent of the total respondents.

External Influence

Fifteen out of the nineteen church leaders agreed, most of them strongly agreeing, seven out of nine politicians agreed, and nineteen out of the thirty-six professionals also agreed that although Kenya stands as an independent country, external influence from other nations still plays a part in affecting the management of its government and people. Of the respondents, 64.1 percent agreed.

Differences among Political Leaders

Concerning the issue of differences among political leaders and their power struggles becoming a major obstacle to national reconciliation, nineteen out of the nineteen church leaders agreed, fifteen of them strongly agreeing, eight out of the nine politicians agreed, and all the thirty-six professionals surveyed agreed, thirty-one of them strongly agreeing. This total represents 98.4 of the respondents.

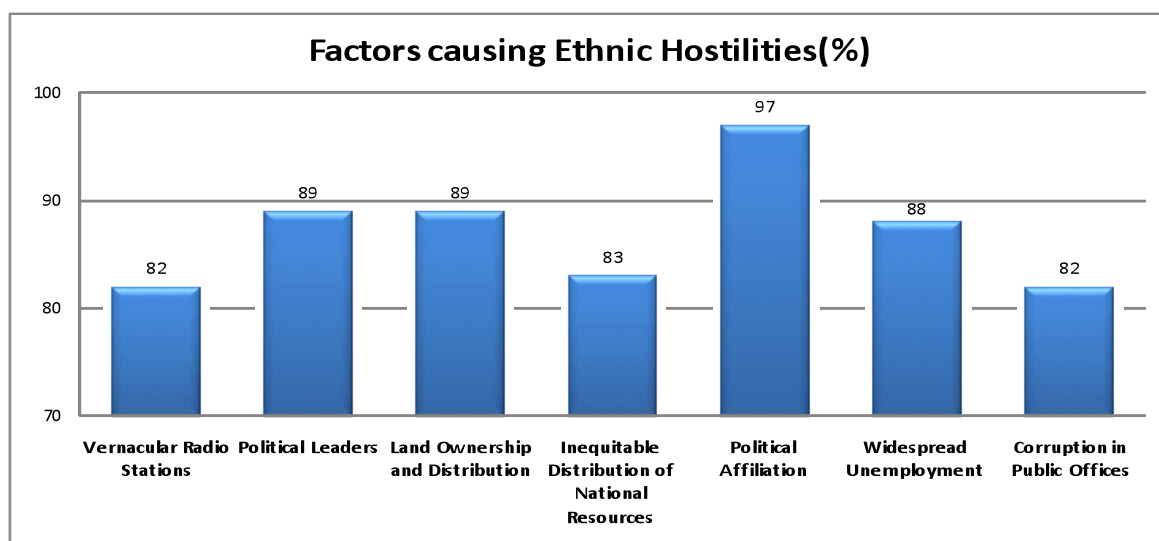
Summary of Major Findings

The findings of this research have been somewhat shocking, especially to have over 50 percent of the respondents indicating that church leaders promote negative ethnicity. Church leaders in Kenya must evaluate themselves and do whatever is necessary to restore their lost credibility in regard to negative ethnicity. I believe some of the views may depend on perception, but I did not expect such a high percentage to doubt the integrity of the church leaders.

Another major concern is the vernacular radio stations that ranked very highly as promoters of negative ethnicity. Whereas recommending a total ban would seriously break a mode of communication that cuts off many Kenyans whose literacy level disadvantages them, the government must introduce regulations that restrict radio stations from funding negative ethnicity. Most of the vernacular FM radio stations have to varying degrees, promoted negative ethnicity.

Table 4.3. Factors Causing Ethnic Hostilities That Require Strategic Action

Factor	Response %
Vernacular radio stations	82
Political leaders	89
Land ownership and distribution	89
Inequitable distribution of national resources	83
Political affiliation	97
Widespread unemployment	88
Corruption in public offices	82

**Figure 4.1. Factors causing ethnic hostilities.**

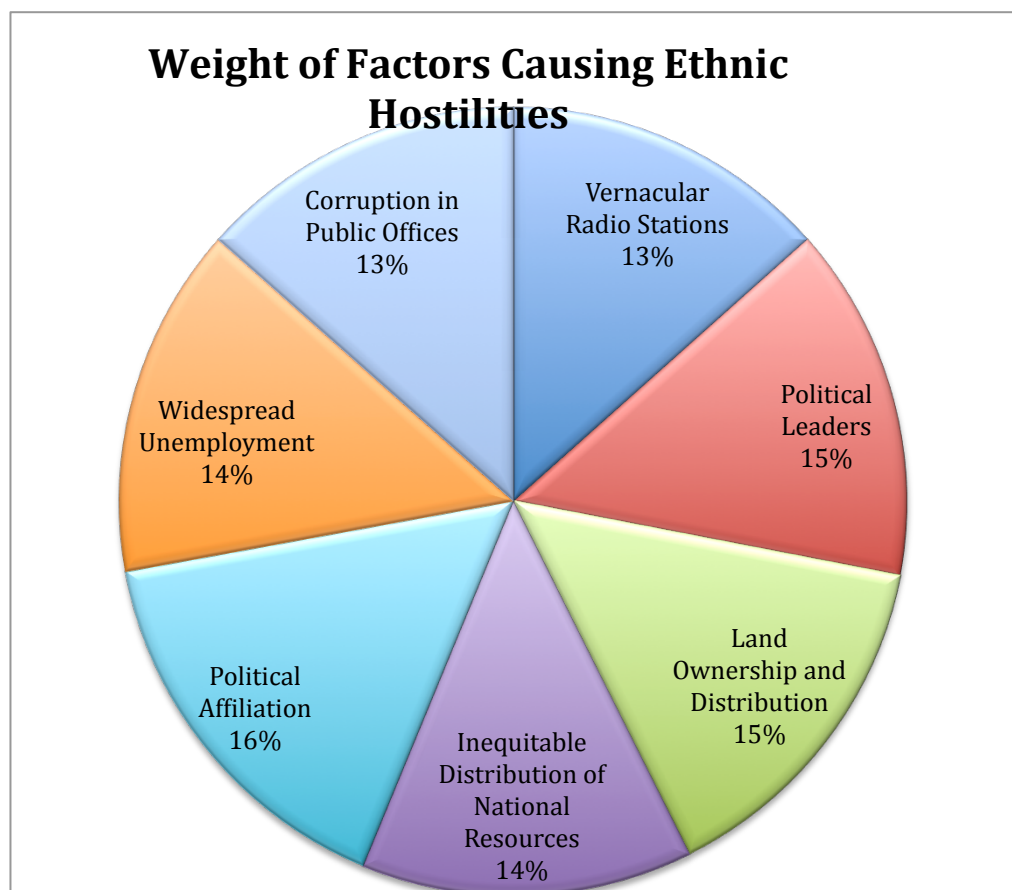


Figure 4.2. Weight of factors causing ethnic hostilities.

Table 4.4. Proposed Areas of Focus on Negative Ethnicity

Factor	Response %
Vigilante/militia groups	78
Implementation of government policies	94
Differences among political leaders	95
Political will from political leaders	85
Divine intervention and involvement religious groups	78
Media	77
Economic stability	80

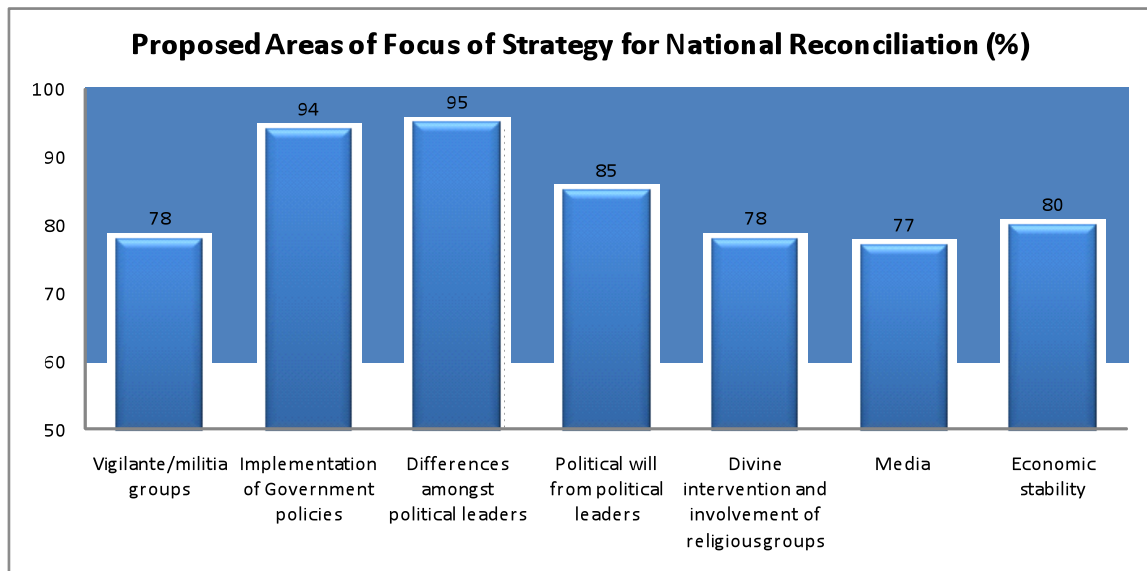


Figure 4.3. Proposed areas of focus on strategy for national reconciliation.

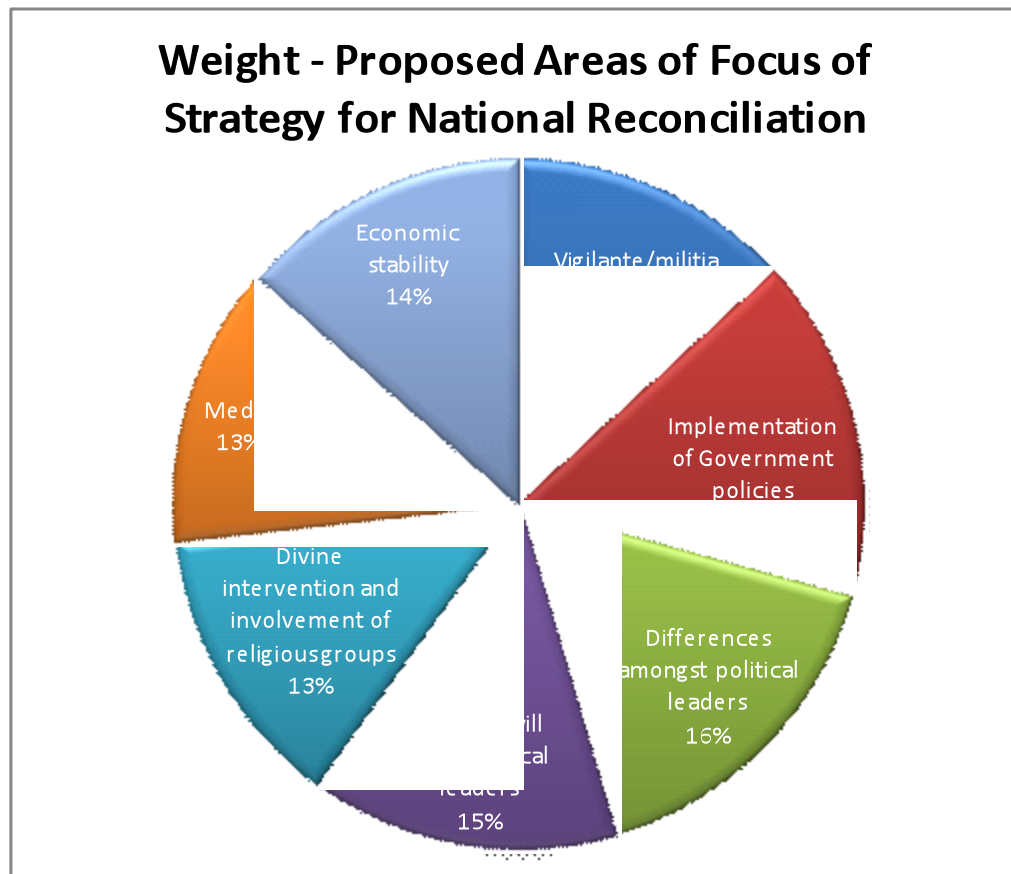


Figure 4.4. Weight of proposed areas of focus on strategy for national reconciliation.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Major Findings

This chapter discusses the major findings that inform the National reconciliation strategy proposal I have selected the issues that ranked highly as impediments to peace as determined by the major findings.

Differences with Political Leaders

Of the sixty-five respondents to the research questionnaire, 95 percent believe that differences amongst our political leaders present the greatest challenge to national reconciliation. This observation gains credence from the fact that only during elections does the conflicts between Kenya's different ethnic groups arise. In Kenya, some politicians thrive on tribal bigotry, and the country is divided into tribal political blocks. Therefore, great determination and resolve by the Kenyans will be necessary to shun politicians who thrive on tribalism.

Smith and Hutchinson in their book on ethnicity laments that people do not kill each other because of their customs or cultural differences, the reason is because their cultural differences are associated with serious political cleavages (72). If Kenyans get to a place where politics are more civilized and responsible and refuse to allow the political class to divide them for political self-interests, then it will be a great nation. Kenya cannot afford to continue supporting politicians blindly along tribal lines when they threaten to push the country into another crisis even before Kenyans have recovered from the 2007-08 predicaments.

Unless this tribal bigotry is overthrown, enhancement of national reconciliation will be an uphill task. Of the total respondents, 97 percent stated that political affiliation is a major threat to national reconciliation. Both political leaders and the political parties with which they affiliate rank very high as contributors of ethnic conflicts. One of the greatest challenges of Kenya's political life is the tendency among political classes to use their tribal loyalty as a yardstick for political survival. Tribalism, impunity, and nepotism are the greatest threats to the realization of national reconciliation. Kenyans must, therefore, develop a clear strategy to discourage their politicians from using ethnic grouping as the only security for political survival.

Parliament should devise legislation to punish the perpetrators of tribalism and those charged with the crime. Kenya's neighbor Rwanda has enacted laws that castigate and prosecute those who try to propagate tribalism. Kenya needs to put structures in place to punish those who advance negative ethnicity or tribalism.

Regrettably, Kenya's former colonial masters, who perfected the art of divide and rule further, accelerated the tribal divisions in Kenya. They are responsible for the balkanization of the tribes in different regions and they pitted one tribe against another by favoring one against the other. With this kind of background, a greater effort from the church and the goodwill of all Kenyans will be required to overcome negative ethnicity.

Vernacular Radio Stations

Another major finding was the fact that the vernacular radio stations are a serious impediment to national reconciliation. Of the total respondents, 81 percent stated that these stations promote negative ethnicity. This problem will be difficult to deal with because a substantial percentage of Kenya's population only understand their vernacular

language and very little of the other languages. The producer of KASS FM, a vernacular radio station in Eldoret town, which was the most volatile town during the post-election violence, is among six prominent leaders who were listed to face charges at the International Criminal Court. Much civic education from the church and from those in the civil society will be required to encourage responsible journalism, both in the print and electronic media. Where people are bent on violating the basic standards of negative ethnicity, measures should be taken to expose and shame them so that all may be warned. The vernacular radio stations and particularly the one in Eldoret played a pivotal role in promoting ethnic hostility. The church must intensify its effort to teach the value of unity in diversity and put emphasis on the fact that all people are brothers and sisters. The church should join in shaming those who broadcast hate speeches that are bent on dividing Kenyans along ethnic lines.

Kenyans need to understand that diversity adds value to their national heritage and shun the handed-down stereotypes that are hyped by outhere vernacular radio stations. The vernacular radio stations are the only solution for the high level of illiteracy, particularly the elderly and must not be tools in the mouth of irresponsible politicians or other Kenyans for that matter, to advance divisive politics and hate speeches.

Speaking, in reference to the 2007-08 violence, as reported by Dave Opiyo in the *Daily Nation* of 21 October, 2009, President Kibaki said, that the social and political environment during the 2007 elections was polluted by the sensational media reports among other things. Therefore, my sincere wish is that Kenya's journalist will stop engaging in irresponsible media coverage that would breach peace between the different ethnic groups. It would be prudent for our journalist to give irresponsible Kenyans,

regardless of their status in society a media blackout if they are propagating divisive politics that can attract ethnic hostility.

Land Ownership and Distribution

Land matters have been very emotive and most of the ethnic conflicts that Kenya has suffered since independence are related to land disputes. Of the total respondents, 89 percent indicated that land ownership and distribution of national resources is a big factor in ethnic conflicts. The conflict of land ownership in the Rift Valley province especially, has resulted in the loss of lives in almost every election since independence. Some people believe that the Rift Valley province is the ancestral home of the Kalenjin community. They also maintain that all those other tribes who live in this province are strangers, and need to go back to their ancestral land. Unfortunately, most of the people who live in this expansive province do not know any other home, because their families have lived in the region all their lives.

In their book, G. W. Kingsnorth and Zoë Marsh reveal that the issues of land distribution and conflict among tribal groups based on watering and grazing grounds was an issue in Kenya as early as 1904 for the land committee which was composed of Kenya's colonizers (175). Unto this day, a big percentage of Kenyan land is on 999 year leasehold, something that was passed by the colonial parliament to suppress justice for land distribution legally even after independence. With a newly enacted constitution, that provision has been nullified and leasehold will now be renewed after every ninety-nine years, and the government reserves the right to decline renewing the lease.

E. A. Boateng talks about how the Europeans chose the Kenya highlands for white occupation. He mentions the fact that the land they took over was only empty

because the Masai, who are nomadic people had raided the Kikuyus, who were, and are still predominantly agricultural people.

Kipchumba Some says, “Disputes over land ownership in Rift Valley creates conflicts between two communities, the Kalenjins, who regard themselves as the indigenous, and the Kikuyu, who are regarded as the immigrant community” (10). The view expressed by Some is real. Many believe that the Rift Valley is the ancestral land of the Kalenjin community and all the other ethnic groups who live there can be treated as illegal immigrants. Only civic education, political good will, and much intervention from the church will enhance national reconciliation.

Some Kenyans accuse other tribes of historical injustices regarding land distribution. Most of those who talk of historical injustices do not even know the history that well, and are depending on information passed down from others. Each community has faced injustices even from Kenya’s former colonial masters, but they cannot remain prisoners of the past. Some pastors are of the opinion that land must remain in the hands of the dominant ethnic community and those who have come from other ethnic groups must respect their dominance.

The Kenyan church should conduct interdenominational civic education all over the country and particularly the regions where ethnic conflicts are prevalent, to enjoin the government in creating a common understanding on land reforms. Emphasis should be put on the fact that Kenya is one nation made up of forty-two ethnic groups who have a right to own land and live anywhere in the country without any discrimination.

Biased Widespread Unemployment

The issue of unemployment among the youth of Kenya ranks very highly as a contributing factor towards national disharmony. The unemployed youth become easy prey for recruitment into vigilante militia groups by politicians during elections.

According to the research findings, 92 percent of the respondents believe that widespread unemployment is a threat to national reconciliation. Illiteracy has contributed to widespread unemployment; however, some young people who hold their first degrees are also hunting for jobs. Those with little or no education can only engage with menial jobs whose earning can only cater for basic livelihood. The growth of the population and the slow pace of economic growth continue to widen the gap between the rich and the poor. Kenya cannot overcome poverty without eradicating illiteracy first.

One of the great concerns is the overwhelming evidence that recruitment in most offices is done with a degree of favoritism. Many have heard cases of double standards in hiring of staff. Recently a pastor in Nairobi reported an incidence where parallel interviews took place and people with lower qualifications were hired on ethnicity basis.

Volf raises an issue that needs serious consideration. He points to the fact that “[n]o scheme of justice can do full justice to all the variable factors which the freedom of man introduces into human history” (222). Whereas the government has a role to play in the creation of jobs, each Kenyan has a degree of responsibility that that influences his or her individual destiny. Freedom of choice is what distinguishes one person from the other. How each person responds to God-given abilities is what determines that degree of responsibility.

Political Affiliation That Balkanizes Kenya into Regional Zones

A great undoing of our political arrangement is ethnic-based political parties. In Kenya, only the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party has national representation to the degree that it cannot be associated with a certain region. Many observers say that Kanu's dominance became obvious because it existed when Kenya was a one political party state. The introduction of multiparty democracy, created a recipe for the balkanization of Kenya into regional party blocks. The major parties that emerged in that context were Ford Kenya, the Democratic Party, the Orange Democratic Movement, the United Democratic Movement, and, to some degree, the Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya, to name a few. Narc-Kenya, a former affiliate of the Party of National Unity, is still gaining momentum. The Party of National Unity and the Orange Democratic Movement have a degree of regional bias. My prayers remain that Kenya will mature politically and have two or three major parties that will shape a national image and reduce the conflict that is associated with tribal parties.

In a statement made during the NCK National pastor's conference, the current secretary general of the church umbrella body said, "It has become plain to all that our political, economic and social-cultural life is not established on values of that promote nationhood and national coherence. We are exclusive rather than inclusive; we are ethnocentric rather than Kenyan..." (Karanja). This judgment may seem to be harsh, but a close analysis of what goes on in parliament confirms Canon Karanja's observation.

Poor Implementation of Government Policies

Of the respondents, 94 percent thought that poor implementation of government policies was a factor that contributed to ethnic conflicts. This view is informed by the fact

that most political leaders in power tended to favor the regions they come from and pumped more resources there. Even cabinet ministers, who should serve national interests, bend standards and channel support to their regions discriminately. Currently, a minister is being investigated for corruption that involved favoring his region for money set aside for national distribution. Some cabinet ministers still talk about *my people* in reference to people of their ethnic community. The percentages revealed by this research were quite surprising. I did not expect more than 60 percent of the respondents to hold to this view.

Inequitable Distribution of National Resources

Of the total respondents, 78percent expressed the view that inequitable distribution is a factor that contributes to national disharmony. Mr Mwai Kibaki, after assuming the presidency in 2002, introduced the constituency development fund, which alleviated the negligence of many constituencies, especially in northeastern province. A few years, in the company of a few church leaders, we took a flight to Wajir, one of the towns in the North Eastern province. The two preceding regimes did very little to improve roads, and other infrastructure according to the residents. Mr Kibaki's regime introduced the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) that distributes money in all the constituencies throughout the nation.

Even with these funds, many people still feel that inequitable distribution of national resources is happening. The politicians mostly propagate this mentality during elections. The myth in Kenya, which encourages different ethnic groups, is that the presidency of one of their own will automatically transform their social lives even with little effort. This belief is false and retrogressive. The people who feel dissatisfied by the

imbalance in the distribution of resources and perceive that the government favors certain communities in job allocations, develop hatred against the community that is more economically stable than theirs.

Economic Stability Fostering National Harmony

The general view of most people is that economic stability will foster national harmony and create a good environment for national reconciliation. Whereas I agree with the view, I have some reservations informed by the fact that discontent is an attitude problem that has some spiritual implications. Even with the best of economies, people develop conflicts that cannot find justification. My firm belief is that many people fail to take responsibility of their economic status and find consolation in blaming the government or other people for their economic frustrations.

Whereas the government commits to ensure every citizen has food and healthy living standards, the government takes responsibility to provide an enabling environment for every citizen to work and provide for themselves. The government only comes in when a national disaster such as floods or famine occurs. The church should enjoin the government in developing self-help projects that create jobs and therefore contribute to the economic good of the people. The church should also enhance the cultivation of work ethics to our youth, who form over 74 percent of the Kenyan population.

Church Engagement and Divine Intervention

Kenya is a religious country by all standards, and about 80 percent of the population professes Christianity. The Kenyan church has a big influence on government policies and even if other faiths seem to be having a great impact, the church in Kenya has the capacity to influence the nation. Many churches hold overnight prayer meetings,

and others have identified mountains and caves where they pray for God's intervention for the nation's good. Many evangelical charismatic churches teach miraculous intervention. People of religious persuasion are easier to manage than those who are not, and it still begs answers to understand how Kenyans arose against each other, killing, maiming, and burning houses over the disputed presidential election results. People keep asking, "Where was the church?"

Speaking as a guest speaker in a National Pastor's conference organized by the National Council of Churches of Kenya in August 2008, Bishop Mvume Dandala of Uganda made these remarks:

The post election crisis in Kenya brought to the surface longstanding and deeply seated grievances within the society. Some of these grievances date back to the colonial period, but have not been addressed by successive governments. This has thus prejudiced peace in the country since large sections of the people feel that they have been denied justice. The principle that the nation cannot have stable peace without justice holds. Healing and reconciliation among different communities are necessary for future peace in Kenya, and justice will play a key role in facilitating that process.

The justice referred here by Bishop Dandala can only be realized when the values taught in the word of God are embraced. Justice is not possible without reference to the God of all judgment. The human nature is self-seeking and those who are not governed by the bible, as the principal guide for their faith and practice cannot practice the justice proposed in this context.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to three categories of leaders: the clergy, politicians, and professionals. Involving of three kinds of leaders is a limitation because it does not consider any other category of Kenyans who also may have varying views in the matters

in question. In the future, I would like to carry out research that broadens the scope of the respondents to include average Kenyans both in the city and in the countryside.

Unexpected Observations

I did not expect over 50 percent of the sixty-five respondents to state that religious leaders promote negative ethnicity. I have established that this figure was high because the thirty-six professionals who were against twenty religious leaders and nine politicians were of that opinion. That some religious leaders have created this kind of impression is regrettable.

Recommendations

The study caucus' recommendation to the Kenyan politicians is to review their attitude towards national reconciliation. They need to value national ideals above ethnic bigotry. We encourage them to consider national cohesion and reconciliation above their individual political ambitions. We recommend that the Kenyan church continue to educate the people, focusing on restoring the broken values in society and especially on the fundamental issue of relationships. We recommend an aggressive strategy towards national healing and reconciliation that will incorporate all the Kenyan churches, other religious organizations, civil society, Christian professionals, and all the politicians.

We recommend that parliament introduce legislations that will outlaw anything that would promote negative ethnicity and establish a special court that deals firmly with anyone, including the politicians that promote tribalism. The commission tasked with cohesion and national integration should be empowered to recommend prosecution for those engaged in tribal politics, creating tension and anxiety among Kenyans.

We recommend that church umbrella organizations study our *Proposed Strategy on National Reconciliation* and use it as a tool to strengthen unity in diversity. With churches scattered all over Kenya, except in the northeast, they should have no difficulties spreading the message of national reconciliation in every county.

Implications of the Findings

The findings reveal that most Kenyans know the causes of ethnic conflicts and therefore laying workable strategies of enhancing national reconciliation is possible. The road to sustainable national reconciliation will demand a high sense of discipline and responsibility. The findings point the highest blame to our political class who thrive on tribal bigotry. The findings reveal that tribalism is a serious threat to national healing and the church must understand and play its God-given role towards the enhancement of sustainable national reconciliation.

Dr. Douglas Carew spoke to the delegates as a guest in the national pastor's conference hosted by the National Council of Churches of Kenya, at the Kabarak University in August 2008:

At no point has Kenya experienced negative ethnicity than during the post election crisis that resulted in killings of many people and destruction of property. The negative ethnicity is a direct result of the balkanization of the country by political leaders into ethnic blocs. Unfortunately, the church has not been effective in countering this balkanization. The objective of the topic is showcase the futility and danger of politics based on negative ethnicity, comparing that with politics driven by a desire for a stable, cohesive and prosperous nation.

Tribal politicians have compromised some of the Kenyan church leaders who have then failed openly to condemn negative ethnicity. The disunity among church leaders and failure to take a united position on these issues have contributed to the delay towards national reconciliation.

Table 5.1. Proposed Strategy for National Reconciliation

#	Factors	Strategy
1	Balkanization of Kenya along ethnic lines by political leaders, due to lack of focus on nation building	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Setting up reconciliation commissions in all 47 counties to promote national cohesion above ethnic lines 2. Hate crimes must be punished quickly and dealt with decisively. The perpetrators should be reprimanded publicly.
2	Skewed implementation of government policies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Setting up of a commission that monitors and make public the various policy implementations in the country. 2. Strengthen and constitutionalize the efficiency monitoring units to give them a constitutional mandate in monitoring and policy implementation.
3	Land ownership and distribution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government to follow through the land chapter in the constitution and follow the implementation of the provisions of the land chapter in the constitution as national land commission is mandated. 2. Church to form a monitoring unit to monitor the work of the national land commission to ensure that justice prevails in land adjudication
4	Biased employment opportunities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incorporate courses in the education curriculum that equip the youth to be self-reliant and generate self-employment. 2. Church to facilitate education amongst the youth to make them aware of existing opportunities on income generating activities like, economic stimulus fund, Kazi kwa vijana and youth fund.
5	Lack of political will from political leaders towards national reconciliation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political leaders to draft their manifestos in line with the national issues as outlined in the constitution. 2. The church should play an active role in holding political leaders accountable for campaign promises: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> —Demand clearly outlined goals with a realization plan —Hold them accountable at clearly defined periods —Clear consequence for unmet expectations —Performance should inform future electoral decisions
6	Inequitable distribution of national resources	Church leadership to setup organization which will serve as a watchdog for the “Commission on Revenue Allocation” to ensure equitable sharing of national resources
7	Corruption in public Offices and how they contribute towards national disharmony	Parliament should enact all necessary legislations captured in chapter six, article 73 on Leadership and Integrity.
8	Role of media in promotion of bias and negative ethnicity	Refer to Article 34—push for establishment of the commission—in line with Section 5. Section 1—reference to Article 33.
#	Factors	Strategy

9	Economic instability as a contributor to national disharmony and insecurity.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Improved management of economic indicators to curb inflation, and attract more private investments. 2. The church can educate congregants on investment options so as to take advantage of investment opportunities
10	<p>Challenges posed by vigilante/militia groups towards achieving national reconciliation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> —thugs for hire —Insecurity —lawlessness —substance abuse —rebellion —instigate violence 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Outlaw any groups that have militia/vigilante tendencies 2. Focus on youth development, and rehabilitation of members who are willing to reform by government and church. 3. Commitment by police to apprehend thugs
11	Role of religious leaders in advancing ethnic conflict	Religious leaders should hold firm to values and advance national unity by getting involved in social and economic issues that would help create national cohesion. For example:- Build schools, Feed the hungry
12	Disunity of the church along Ethnic and Political lines.	<p>Formation of umbrella organization to unify the church with a focus on national issues so that</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) The church can maintain a united voice b) The umbrella body can shame and expose the church leaders who are compromised by politicians along ethnic lines

Postscript

My name is Geoffrey Kamau Njuguna, born and raised in Kijabe in Central Province, but now a resident of Nairobi of thirty-four years, except for the five years I was away in America for my theological studies. I am the founding senior pastor of Deliverance church Langata, within the southern suburbs of Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. I pastor a cosmopolitan congregation, which enjoy a wide representation of all cultures in Kenya. We have a permanent building with a capacity of two thousand people or more. I am currently on Sayare TV, a Christian television station, for a half-hour program airing twice a week. I have a great passion for raising and developing leaders to express the image of Christ in their communities and nations. I am a family man, aged 55 with have four grown children, with our youngest daughter turning twenty-four this July

(2011). My wife and our eldest son serve in the corporate marketplace but are also involved in the ministry. You can find more about our church if you visit our Web site at <www.deliverancechurchlangata.org>.

I have been involved in peace-building efforts in the country through the Hope for Kenya Forum and the Senior Clergy Consultative Forum, founded by a retired moderator of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, the Rt. Rev. Dr. John Gatu following the 2007 post-election violence. I am regularly featured in the *God's Champions*, a monthly Christian magazine, where I address topical issues affecting the Kenyan nation.

As I reflect on all the work that has gone into this dissertation, and consider the impact it has had in my life, I am very thankful to God. My honest belief is that the proposals recommended in this dissertation will have far-reaching impact in making Kenya a better place to live. I appeal to Kenyan professionals to engage with the issues raised in this study and commit to teach people everywhere the value of unity in diversity.

This study has enhanced my understanding of the great challenge of national reconciliation and more so because of tribal loyalties that have strings attached to them. We also have some Kenyans who become easy prey to our politicians during elections; among whom are young people without regular employment. I urge all Kenyans to treasure unity in diversity and always to remember that Kenya cannot be Kenya without the recognition, inclusion, and embracing of each of the communities that constitute our great nation. We need a resolution to build bridges not walls between each other, to build this nation on values that last, to love and care for our destitute, and to have selflessness that reaches out to help others.

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF PROFILE OF THE CAUCUS GROUP

- Rev. Onesmus Weru holds a bachelor's degree in Bible and Theology and works for The World Adventures Ministry.
- Mr. Amos Chebon works in the management of Safaricom, a mobile phone company. He holds a master's degree and has begun work towards a PhD.
- Mr. Wycliffe Odongo lectures at the Kenya Technical Teachers. He holds a Master of Science Degree.
- Mr. Peter K. Kanyora is a retired civil servant and a water engineer. He holds a master's degree in psychology from Daystar University, Nairobi.
- Mr. Dan Anduvate works with a management consultancy firm and has a Master of Arts in marketing student.
- Mrs. Eunice Sawe is the Administrator General and Public Trustee for the Kenya government. She holds a law degree.
- Mrs. Sheila N. Kiambati is a high-ranking official in government. She holds a BA from Nairobi University and is about to complete a Master in International Relations.
- Mr. Stephen Masha holds a Master of Science and works for US-Aid as an auditor.
- Mr. Joseph O. Ageyo holds a Master in Environmental Journalism. He works as a senior editor for Nation Media Group, Nairobi.
- Mr. George N. Kamau holds an MBA in Strategic Planning and Management. He works for a bank in Nairobi.
- Mrs. Martha King'oo is a schoolteacher and holds a Bachelor of Arts in Education.
- Pastor Ezekiel Kioko is an MA student at the Africa Leadership University, Nairobi.

APPENDIX B

MEETINGS HELD WITH THE CAUCUS GROUP

- 1) Induction training: 14 March 2009—10 Participants
- 2) Development of the Questionnaires—4 April 2009. 7 Participants
- 3) Development of the questionnaires—9 May 2009. 8 Participants
- 4) Selecting potential respondents—13 June 2009. 7 Participants
- 5) Data analysis and correlation—3 October 2009. 6 Participants
- 6) Data analysis and correlation—7 November 2009. 7 Participants

I wish to register my sincere appreciation to all the members of this caucus for sacrificing of their time to help me process the questionnaire and assess the data I received from the leaders who participated. It is my sincere hope that I will be able to engage you all during the final phase of this study.

I also wish to register my appreciation to the leaders of the Deliverance Church Langata, for approving all the finances we needed to process the paper work and also prepare snacks and sometimes meals for the caucus group meetings. I also wish to acknowledge the work done by my secretary Mrs. Mercy Wambura Muikia in processing the documents and following up on meetings with the caucus group with phone calls.

MEETINGS HELD DURING THE FINAL PHASE OF THE RESEARCH

- 1) TO REVIEW THE QUESTIONNAIRE—SATURDAY MAY 22, 2011
- 2) TO DISTRIBUTE AND COMMISSION THE QUESTIONNAIRE—JULY 3, 2011
- 3) TO BEGIN RECEIVING DATA BACK—AUGUST 14, 2011
- 4) ANALYZE DATA AND IDENTIFY CRITICAL ISSUES—SEPTEMBER 11, 2011
- 5) PROPOSAL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION—JANUARY 29, 2011

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A: Demographic Questions

1. (A) Gender Male ☐ Female €

- (B) Education Level
 - (i) Below high school € (ii) High school level €
 - (iii) College level € (iv) University level and above €

- (C) Age bracket
 - (i) 18 to 26 € (ii) 27 to 35 € (iii) 36 to 46 € (iv) 47 to 55 €
 - (v) Above 55 €

- (D) Economic activity
 - (i) Self-employed/Business owner € (ii) Employed €
 - (iii) Unemployed €

- (E) Religion
 - (i) Christian € (ii) Muslim € (iii) Hindu €
 - (iv) African Traditionalist € (v) other €

- (F) Place of birth (District)_____

- (G) Place of residence (District)_____

- (H) If your place of residence is not same as place of birth, please state how long you have lived in your current place of residence _____ (Years).

Section B: Research Questions

2. (i) Do you consider ethnicity to be a positive or a negative issue in our nation? (Please tick only one.)

Positive €

Negative €

- (ii) Please give two reasons for your answer above.

3. Have you personally experienced negative ethnicity? YES € NO €

- (i) If yes, please give two examples of your experience.

- (ii) If no, please state two instances of your positive experience.

4. How would you rate the following groups in relation to promoting negative ethnicity in Kenya?

Group	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Quota Education system				
Stereotype family upbringing				
Religious leaders				
Vernacular FM radio stations				
Political leaders				
Mainstream media (TV, radios, and print media)				

How do you rate the following factors indicated in 5-12 in contributing to ethnic hostilities in Kenya? Kindly respond by *strongly agree*, *agree*, *strongly disagree*, or *disagree* by ticking only one in each question.

5. Land distribution

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
| (iii) Disagree | € | (iv) Strongly disagree | € |

6. High level of poverty

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
| (iii) Disagree | € | (iv) Strongly disagree | € |

7. Unequal distribution of national resources

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
| (iii) Disagree | € | (iv) Strongly disagree | € |

8. Regional boundaries

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
| (iii) Disagree | € | (iv) Strongly disagree | € |

9. Illiteracy

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
| (iii) Disagree | € | (iv) Strongly disagree | € |

10. Religious affiliation

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
| (iii) Disagree | € | (IV) strongly disagree | € |

11. Political affiliation

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------|---|
| (i) Strongly agree | € | (ii) Agree | € |
|--------------------|---|------------|---|

(iii) Disagree € (iv) Strongly disagree €

12. Widespread unemployment

(i) Strongly agree € (ii) Agree €

(iii) Disagree € (iv) Strongly disagree €

13. (i) In your opinion, do you think the church in Kenya can play a positive role in bringing national cohesion and integration?

YES € NO €

(ii) Kindly give reasons for your answer above.

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

14. In relation to your answer to question 8 above, how have the regional boundaries contributed to the ethnic hostilities in Kenya?

15. (a) Would the redrawing of the regional boundaries contribute towards reduced inter-ethnic conflict?

YES € NO €

(b) If yes, please suggest how the redrawing should be done-

(c) If no, please give your reasons.

16. How would you rate the following actions in relation to preventing and eradicating ethnic conflicts in Kenya?

	Most important	Important	Not important	Least important
Political will from our political leaders				
Divine intervention through prayers				
Involvement of religious groups in the process				

Please feel free to make any additional comments on the issue above.

What is your response to the following statement in questions 17 to 25 below?

- 17) “Kenya’s cohesion and integration can only be enhanced when our economy ceases to be donor dependant”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

- 18) “The Kenyan ethnic conflicts cannot be resolved until our politicians stop using their ethnic identification for political expediency.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

- 19) “The Kenyan ethnic conflicts are accelerated by corruption in public offices and a reduction of corruption in these offices will reduce ethnic hostilities.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

20) “The Kenyan ethnic conflicts will be difficult to resolve until the question of Vigilante/militia groups and other tribal warriors has been addressed and resolved.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

21) “Poor government policies and corruption at the national level are the cause of the continued increase in the gap between the rich and the poor.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

22) “Bad individual choices are the major causes of the increased gap between the rich and the poor.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

23) “Personal/individual rights and freedom is what creates our differences socially and brings our difference in social classifications.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

24) The influence of the Western world and their calculated moves to guide certain political and economic interests antagonizes the Kenyan people against each other.”

Strongly agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

25) “Disunity of our political leaders and their struggle for power and wealth is the most serious obstacles to our cohesion and integration.”

Strongly Agree	€	Agree	€
Disagree	€	Strongly disagree	€

APPENDIX D

BRAINSTORMING ROUND TABLE CONSULTATIVE FORUM

National Reconciliation Strategy Meeting on 12 November 2010

In attendance

1. Rev. Geoffrey Kamau Njuguna—Senior Pastor—Dissertation writer
 2. Mr. Raphael Tuju—Advisor to the President/ Former Cabinet Minister and Member of Parliament
 3. Bsp. Dr. S. Kabachia—Bishop—Agape Fellowship Centers
 4. Mr. Joe Ageyo—(facilitator)—Senior Editor—Nation Media group
 5. Mr. Njeru Kathangu—Former Member of Parliament.
 6. Mr. Peter Kiambati—A retired Water conservation Engineer
 7. Rev Ngari Kariithi—Senior Pastor—Karura Community church
 8. Mrs. Eunice Sawe—Administrator General/public Trustee—Kenya
 9. Mrs. Elizabeth N. K. Njuguna –Kenya Revenue Authority
 10. Bsp. Dr. J. B. Masinde—General Secretary—Deliverance Church Kenya
 11. Rev. Elizabeth Kamau—An Anglican Priest
 12. Dr. Lukas Njenga—A businessman—Ushindi Mobile Services
- Meeting started at 11.20 a.m. in prayer with a session of self introduction
 - Rev. Njuguna appreciated all present and took time to introduce the purpose of meeting: To develop a document that could help in national reconciliation. As a requirement for his doctorate program, he chose to do a research on the topic on National Reconciliation. He collected data from 65 respondents who comprised of politicians, key church leaders and other executives. The research revealed that politicians contributed much in the post-elections violence in 2007-08.
 - Joe Ageyo, a member of Caucus group, a senior editor with Nation media Group facilitated the meeting. He began by welcoming all in attendance and clarified the objective of the round table consultation. He reported that the quest for developing a strategy proposal for national reconciliation was born in the heart of

Rev Njuguna after the 2007-08 post election violence. The magnitude of the violence which was ethnic based proved to all that Kenya was not as one as we had presupposed. He then posed a question to Mr. Njeru Kathangu on his response to the fact that politicians contributed a great deal to the post-election violence.

- Mr. Njeru Kathangu is the former M.P. for Runyenjes in Eastern province and the Secretary General of Ford-Asili, one of the registered political parties. He reported that he had tried to plead with the President to stop the referendum in 2005 because he could foresee the division this would bring to the nation, but the President declined. After the referendum, Mr. Njeru formed Kenya Peace Initiative. He believes that most of the issues affecting the nation started then. They were sure that after the 2007 elections, there would be chaos no matter who won. He spent a lot of his time visiting the affected areas. He appreciated the Rev Njuguna for undertaking a research on national reconciliation saying the initiative to bring National reconciliation is an area of great passion in his life as a person.
- Mr Joe Ageyo—from the research, Vigilante & Militia groups ranked very high as the cause or some who accelerated the chaos. He asked Mr. Tuju to respond to this
- Mr. Raphael Tuju—he appreciated the pastor for his initiative but warned him that this topic is very wide. His feeling was that the groups have come up because of a very high rate of population growth that has not been matched by the economic growth. This has then caused the young people to come up with gangs and make up some income from that. The groupings are good but their course is bad. They should be made more productive. Most of the panelists felt that the vigilante groups needed rehabilitation.
- Mr. Njeru Kathangu's response—To be able to get a solution, we should be willing to look at the society historically. Issues about land are so key right from the time when the colonialists handed over power to Kenyans (e.g., the Delamere farm in Naivasha).

- In 1960, every Kenyan felt that something must be done to the colonialists, they were fighting an external enemy, when Kenyatta was handing over to Moi—the mentality was that of “let us go-get it” When Moi handed over to Kibaki, the mentality was that of “acquiring riches” With the Moi regime, the mentality was dictatorship.
- It is important to note that the people who were in the first government were same in the second and in still in the third government. In his opinion, groups like Mungiki are suffering from denial.
- Pst. Ngari—supported that we have to go back to history but thinks that the young people are suffering from identity crisis. We have to look at the current issues. Ask why they are finding their identity in militia groups. Tribalism is one of the major reasons. We need to think what the church can do to give the young people identity. Culturally we seem not to be aware of who we are. Men are evaluated in terms of wealth. If a man is not wealthy, he loses identity. We need to provide a means to make the men productive thus get identity.
- When we talk of Historic politics—why depend on those politicians who failed. We realize that politics is about the numbers of votes.
- Mr. Raphael Tuju—emphasized on the population growth rate: In 1978-1998 Kenya had the highest range of population growth. Unless the economy grows at the same rate, a crisis results. The young people have no jobs, no source of income. It has happened in other nations of the world and with a visionary leader, it is possible to bridge the gap.
- This country is not a nation state but a geographical phenomenon; it has many nations within a Nation. It is the only country in Africa where the 4 races of the world converge; Have many different religions. The difference between one tribe and the other is too wide. Kenyans should be commended for managing to live together with all the diversities. Kenyans are good people.

- Few countries in the world have managed to handle the number of youth that Kenya has. With this bunch, the young generation takes over leadership. Iran did not manage, America managed. Algeria Libya had a 27 years old take over leadership. The militia groups are not ethnic issues.
- On Tribalism he said, “Politicians are not tribalists but they take advantage of it.” Tribal groups are even in the churches.
- Dr. Kabachia commenting on the fact tribalism is found even in the church –to some extent he agrees. The church needs to do some soul-searching to be able to help the country. The church needs to set good examples. Some issues were carried forward from our colonialists. The church must attempt to be national and not regional.
- Mr. Njeru Kathangu—he has been brought up, educated and grown in the church. He does not understand why Churches are fighting each other—depopulating each other. Ethnicity and religion are related in Kenya. There are 2,690 sects in Kenya. In his opinion, to deal with ethnicity—The politicians, elders, and church leaders need to start meeting to reconcile. He has started another initiative focusing on building bridges.

HOW CAN THE CHURCH BECOME A CATALYST

- Bishop J.B. Masinde—start building bridges within the church. There is too much fragmentation in the church itself. Some of our approaches in the church are so tribal that our words are overshadowed. We might be like salt that has lost its taste. Kenya is termed as a collection of tribes and not a nation. We should borrow a leaf from Tanzanians (community).
- Mr. Raphael Tuju—when there is scarcity people start fighting for resources. Charismatic leadership creates fights and tension but also creates harmony. Kenyan leaders have failed, none has focused on making Kenya one.

- Rev Ngari Kariithi—politicians ride on tribalism but they are not necessarily tribal. This time when they are not in competition, they can do much. They should follow through when they get into office.
- Mr. Raphael Tuju—If one wants to win votes, it is easier to go the tribal way. The difference between politics and leadership should be clear. In this country, we have good politicians who are poor in leadership. The importance cannot be minimized, in dealing with negative ethnicity; relationships between families, churches, governments will be governed by covenants. Recognize ourselves as body of Jesus Christ; we are a creation of God. We should respect the common humanity, only the church can manage that.
- Mr. Njeru Kathangu— a lot of politicians lack in beliefs. Politicians are created to go and silence some people. Other politicians want power to protect property. Kenyan politicians lack in ideology and Christians have not helped in getting people with the right ideologies go to parliament. The church should concentrate on raising the right people to elect the (best) should be able to bring its leadership together to identify the best leader, In terms of ideologies.
- Mr. Raphael Tuju's final remarks—Singapore crises were worse because they were atheists. The situation is can be managed. We need a Social safety net where the young people can fall back—if we had this, people would not go to the extents of militia groups. The government has failed to tax the affluent in order to cater for the unfortunate. There is hope in this country—in 1890s Kenyans did not know what money was. They had to get the Indians to bring labor for to construct the railway from Mombasa to Kisumu. If it took them 4 years (1898 – 1901) to cover 200km, then they were constructing ½ km in a day without any machinery. If we have the leadership to address the joblessness state in Kenya, then the problem is solvable.
- In his view, there is no problem of land in this country—no society has grown because of shambas. We should embrace modern economy e.g. Promises should be based on flats and not lands.

- Church, schools and cooperative movements are ideal –they can address these crises by creating employment.
- Bsp. J. B.Masinde—the politicians want to keep the people in their terrible state (in their vote bags), so that they can “buy” their votes during the elections. On the other hand, the church keeps them (those in slums) as evangelistic targets. The church should start responding by creating employment.
- Dr. Kabachia Stephen—there is a group that has not been taken seriously; the men. There is no men’s fund. There needs to be men empowerment. Men without money are considered useless or lesser. There is a crisis of absent men. The government should come out strongly to save this situation.

Mr Peter Kiambati—metamorphosis of cultural—need to focus on the social issues.

- Rev. Elizabeth—who leads the nation? There is need for reconciliation. The church needs to be reconciled within itself. The church has segregated itself into our tribal cocoons. We are not listening to what God is saying. What needs to be done before 2012. Her intercessory ministry team is working with the International reconciliation ministry from Europe who desire to come in Kenya.
- Mr. Njeru Kathangu—We are young country—multiparty started in 1991. In 2010 we need 2nd liberating movement—the church should come out clearly. The people have lost confidence in the church. There is need for the church to form a Christian social movement in order to regain the confidence. Create a non-discriminatory movement to advise the politics of the country. Remove the discriminative funds to look onto the national issues. Form a committee to follow-up the politicians.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The church should focus on employment—start projects that will create job opportunities.
2. Know and face the giant—what cause do we have? Have a clear focus of what we are aiming at. Have a national cause.

3. Take advantage of the New Constitution implementation; counties food security
4. The church should foster a joint-vision to eradicate individual or group dissatisfaction. This will give a hope—get a national vision. Church has major role to play in the national reconciliation.
5. A consistent and regular press release from the church e.g. weekly or monthly to communicate what God is saying to the nation in one voice.
6. HOW TO BRIDGE POLITICIANS & CHURCH LEADERS
 - 1) Creating a forum for all the movements e.g. NCCK, Episcopal, the evangelical alliance, etc.
 - 2) Then invite the politicians for lunch. Visit them in the offices or homes or send elders.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEWS WITH A FEW KEY CHURCH LEADERS

In a personal interview with Rev Stanley Mwalili (Aged 46) the Overseer of the Green Pastures Tabernacle done in Johannesburg, South Africa on October 22, 2010, these were his observations.

Question-Njuguna—What is the solution towards the challenge posed by the tribal vigilante/militia groups?

Answer—Mwalili—This is complex. The vigilante groups bring more problems than solution. The government must be firm in dealing with them and keep them under check. The church come approach it in two ways—Preventive—The church should develop programs that attract young people who are jobless (e.g., Macro—finance, business ventures that are income generating). Secondly, find ways of influencing the vigilantes by way of befriending them to win them from the evil strategies of getting income. Register security firms, etc.

Question—Njuguna—Can the Kenyan church be able to hold the government accountable for the implementation of policies that enhance nationalism?

Answer—Mwalili—The government should review the constitution to introduce policies that enhance nationalism. The church leaders should engage government on specific strategy proposal.

1) Question—Njuguna—How can we ensure that the differences among our political leaders will never plunge Kenya into a national crisis again?

Answer—Mwalili-We need to ask ourselves, "Why did it happen and who did it?"

According to me we are in a crisis as a nation in regard to values. No one civilized can go burning house for his neighbors. The church need to re-teach values again. A cultural value system needs to be inculcated in our society. We need to disengage Kenyans from political manipulation at the detriment of national reconciliation. The church should engage in more civic education to make Kenyans develop national identity in diversity.

- 2) Question—Njuguna—How can we address and overcome the problem posed by our vernacular media services being instrumental to negative ethnicity?

Answer—Mwalili—Vernacular is valuable. We should use vernacular properly. The government should be serious in enforcing the regulations that ensure that media services are not used to instigate tribal animosity. The church should put pressure on government and if it fails, the church should seek redress in the international court with hard evidence.

- 3) Question—Njuguna—The issue of regional boundaries and land ownership has always created tension among our different ethnic groups, what is the solution?

Answer—Mwalili—This is a complex issue—As politics become financial based, people use anything to appeal for vote. The reason why people fight land is that as population grows, the land is becoming smaller and smaller. We need to educate all Kenyans that every Kenyan can own land anywhere in the nation and have government enforce this understanding.

- 4) Question Njuguna—Research reveals that poverty creates discontent that threatens national reconciliation. What can the church do to reduce that gap between the rich and the poor and is the government addressing this problem?

Answer—Mwalili—The church can teach people that we all have a capacity to generate wealth. The government is trying but they can do better. The church should cash in tourism and agriculture.

- 5) Question –Njuguna—What are the major steps to make towards building a strong united nation, which is devoid of ethnic bias in political positioning?

Answer—Mwalili-We have lost nationalism and we need to think seriously about what can enhance national identity. It is regrettable that we do not consider ourselves as Kenyans, but Kikuyus, Luos. Kalenjins, Luhyas, etc. which is retrogressive. The quota education is our demise. We need to re-look our nation philosophy and re-brand Kenya for nationalism.

Question—Njuguna—What should be our strategy to overcome any religious conflicts that may result to national disharmony?

Answer—Mwalili—We must continue to insist that the level playing field in the religious circles be equal. We need to ensure that we refuse to agitate for any tension. The church must create a very strong sustained central voice.

Pastor Mwalili's short profile—Overseer—of Green Pastures Tabernacle—Kenya Age-46—Hold a Master in Leadership Studies, and currently residing in South Africa In a personal Interview with Rev Jonathan Gitau (Aged 66) an ordained minister the New Life Covenant Church on 23 July 2010, the following were his responses.

- 1) What is the solution towards the challenge posed by the tribal vigilante/militia groups?

According to Rev Gitau—The government should dialogue is the solution. When the police kill them, it accelerates the problem because their blood becomes a seed to multiply them. The government through the church should rehabilitate then and introduce macro—business projects for them. The security force should be the last result. It has also been noted that some police conspire with them.

- 2) Can the Kenyan church be able to hold the government accountable for the implementation of policies that enhance nationalism?

According to Rev Gitau—When the church speaks in one voice, the government will have no choice but to heed her demands. The unity of the church is the only hope for being able to hold it accountable. It is regrettable that some religious leaders seem to be in the pocket of their political leaders and that frustrates the intention of unity. Christian nominalism has made the unity of the church very difficult.

- 3) How can we ensure that the differences among our political leaders will never plunge Kenya into a national crisis again?

Reading from what happened in 2007/8, the loyalty to tribal leaders is the greatest threat to national reconciliation. Unless the current crop of politicians are phased out and have leaders that can embrace nationalism, this problem will be difficult to overcome.

The dismantling of the provincial administration will make it difficult for tribal leaders to succeed. The devolved government will enhance nationalism better.

- 1) How can we address and overcome the problem posed by our vernacular media services being instrumental to negative ethnicity?

Rev. Gitau said that the problem with this was the liberalization of media and unless the media owners agree to be held accountable for anything they report that threatens national reconciliation, then it will be difficult to overcome this. If the government opts to censor all media information, then they will say the government is ganging them.

- 5) The issue of regional boundaries and land ownership has always created tension among our different ethnic groups, what is the solution?

The main problem on this is the Rift Valley region according to Rev Gitau, dates back to the days of colonization. When independence was obtained, the government said the land was free for willing buyers. The indigenous people refused to buy, and people from other regions like the Central province bought land and settled. This has been the bone of contention because the indigenous people want to reclaim the land saying it is their ancestral land. Regrettably, they do not complain about the Tea zones, which is still under the foreign companies.

- 6) Research reveals that poverty creates discontent that threatens national reconciliation. What can the church do to reduce that gap between the rich and the poor and is the government addressing this problem?

According to Rev. Gitau, the government needs to make policies that will equip the poor to eradicate poverty. The poor policies that open doors to corruption, the health of the economy can create more jobs and therefore enhance wealth. The church has little to do because we do not collect taxes.

- 7) What are the major steps to make towards building a strong united nation, which is devoid of ethnic bias in political positioning?

Rev. Gitau said that there should be a law that regulates the amount of money to be spent during election. Very heavy penalties should be introduced for hate speeches, especially

during campaigns. We should engage the youth in civic education so that they can talk to each other. The school curriculum should include nationalism.

- 8 What should be our strategy to overcome any religious conflicts that may result to national disharmony?

Rev. Gitau said that the challenge remains with the church to remain united. The unity of the church will be the only hope of overcoming any threat on their interest. It will also be important to establish a council of spiritual elders drawn from all the church umbrellas bodies to spearhead the interests of the church as one body of believers. Church leaders should equip their members for spiritual warfare. Prayer is the only weapon that the church has to defend herself which can be replicated by the enemy.

In a personal interview with Mr. Albert Okinda (aged 69), an elder at Nairobi Pentecostal Church, Karen on 30 September 2010 in my office at Deliverance church Langata, these were his observation on the issues at stake

- 1) Vigilante groups

We usually create a systems that later grow to become monsters. The church should teach values that will reduce engagement of these militia groups. The joblessness has created room for the recruitment of these groups. The church should create social programs that absorb these youth. The church should put pressure on politicians to desist engaging these groups for political expediency.

- 2) Government policies that enhance nationalism

The government has policies but it seems like lip service. Even if the new constitution is now in place, it is like putting new wine into old wine skins. As long as we have the same leaders, it will be difficult to implement policies that enhance nationalism. Selfishness is the root of national disintegration.

- 3) What can the church do to ensure that the politicians will not plunge Kenya into another national crisis?

The solution will be found in the unity of the national church. The greatest challenge is how to unite church leaders throughout Kenya, and keep them from being

manipulated by politician. The division of the church is the main cause of our social problems.

4) Vernacular media services being used to perpetuate negative ethnicity

It is regrettable to note that these stations have not been used to promote nationalism. It can be a strong tool if used positively. The government should introduce regulations to ensure that no media service will air materials that antagonize the Kenyan citizenry.

5) What about land ownership and regional boundaries?

Many Kenyans are squatter and therefore unless the government regulates the usage of land and compel those with big chunks of land to sell it to the government who will then subdivide it and allocate.

6) The gap between the rich and poor

With the free market, it may be difficult for the government to enforce the sharing of the resources. The church has a moral duty before God to care for the poor. We do not think our government can address this problem. The poor should be encouraged to work hard to engage in wealth creation.

Some major steps towards building a strong united nation

- 1) Embracing one another, stop thinking as tribes but as Kenyans
- 2) Churches that are tribal based should enhance a national outlook.

We should encourage community concepts taught by Rick Warren in his Peace Plan—**P**lant churches, **E**quip leaders, **A**ssist the poor, **C**are for the sick, and **E**ducate the next generation..

Rick Warren's Peace Plan can be executed to a certain degree by all kinds of churches regardless of size. The above stated needs are universal in nature and therefore require strategic intervention by all churches everywhere.

A short profile of Mr. Albert Okinda

Originally from Vihiga district—Western Kenya.

A retired businessman/ Head teacher—An elderly Luyha male.

In a personal interview with Rt. Rev. Dr. John Gatu (age 86) on 10 September 2010, The former moderator of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa who began active ministry in September 1951, had this to say.

Why the church leaders blamed for promoting negative ethnicity

According to Dr Gatu. There seems to be little difference between church leaders and politicians, a point proven by the just concluded referendum. Political loyalty based on tribal expediency is found in the church also. We did not seem to learn from the 2007/08 post-election violence regrettably

It is unfortunate to note that some of our denominations are ethnic based and that does not promote ethnic integration. It is unfortunate that the mainland denominations seem to bend on tribal inclination. In the last 25 years, church leadership seems to take tribal inclination influenced by political factors.

Recommendations—Church leaders should be distributed nationally instead of considering tribal factors. The 1969 oathing was about the suspicion between Luo and Kikuyu politicians. Churches should be planted generally without tribal consideration.

Greatest challenge—Hidden ethnicity is a great challenge towards national reconciliation. One of the successes of the Senior Clergy consultative forum is our diversity and our commitment to go all over the nation indiscriminately. Secondly, the quarter system of education has added to the threat of national reconciliation.

1) Land ownership and regional boundaries

Land ownership and distribution has been a factor of ethnic conflicts and clan conflicts and family divisions. We must admit the fact that we shall not always be rural communities. The church leadership must tell all Kenyans that negative ethnicity is wrong and we should overcome

2) Vernacular media services

Vernacular stations are influenced by financial gain and many media owners don't care what materials they carry as long as they are paid. Dr. Gatu recommended government regulating and punishing the media houses that promote negative ethnicity.

Any media house that broadcasts anything detrimental to national unity should be prosecuted.

We can be tribal without practicing tribalism. Dr. Gatu felt that our Colonial masters contributed towards our tribal differences. It is regrettable that Kenyans seems to have transferred ethnicity to American and Europe.

3) Differences among our political leaders

Dr. Gatu agree that politicians bear the greatest blame for funning ethnicity. Dr. Gatu felt that it will take a long time before nationalism in Kenya is strong. But the church should advocate and promote nationalism.

4) Historical injustices

Historical injustices—Who is to blame for the historical injustices and what can be done to resolve them? According to Dr. Gatu, this is a difficult question, but the truth is that it would be difficult to dig up issues of beyond 1963, and expect a clear answer. The state is to blame for justified historical injustices (e.g., the Magalla massacre). Individuals who abused power to carry out injustices should be held accountable.

A short profile of the Rt. Rev. Dr. John Gatu

Dr. Gatu graduated from Bible school in 1955, then he took parish work in August 1955 to the end of 1958. He began mobile lay training in 1958-59. In 1961, he became the deputy General Secretary, and 1964 became the first African General Secretary of PCEA. In 1979 he became the moderator of the General Assembly until 1985. He ministered in at St. Andrews PCEA until his retirement in 1990 at the age of 65.

This is a written response by Bishop David Oginde, of Christ is the Answer Ministries (CTAM) on the major factors that threaten national reconciliation and harmony requisitioned by Rev. Geoffrey Njuguna submitted on 2 November 2010.

Question No 1 What is the solution towards the challenge posed by the tribal vigilante/militia groups?

Answer—There has to be a commitment from leaders, political, tribal and spiritual to jointly deal with this issue. As long as leaders send mixed signals, appearing to not only condone but at times even appreciate the activities of these groups, they will remain a thorn in the flesh. We must remember that the beast we rare will one day turn against us! Even hurch leaders have at times “used” these groups to fight the “other people.”

Question No 2 Can the Kenyan church be able to hold the government accounted for the implementation of policies that enhance nationalism?

Answer—The Church can only hold Government accountable if we are united. The Referendum was an example of such unity. Jesus made it clear—a house divided cannot stand.

Question No 3 How can we ensure that the differences among our political leaders will never plunge Kenya into a national crisis again?

Answer—This would depend on the unity of the church that transcends any ethnic divisions.

Question No 4 How can we address and overcome the problem posed by our vernacular media services being instrumental to negative ethnicity?

Answer—Whenever an individual, community or society feels threatened or discriminated against, the natural thing is to take cover under the safest place—family, clan, tribe, nation or race. Kenyans must be brought to that pointwhere very one of us feels no need for any tribal cocoon in order to benefit from national resources in order for

them to come out of their shells. The vernacular radios, while serving a large majority of illiterate and semi-illiterate Kenyans who cannot speak English or Kiswahili, are unfortunately also being used by the elite to further their own causes against others.

Question No 5 The issue of regional boundaries and land ownership has always created tension among our different ethnic groups, what is the solution?

Answer—The government must implement the land reform policies enshrined in the new constitution and carry out thorough civic education so that all Kenyans understand their rights on land ownership.

Question No 6 Research reveals that poverty creates discontent that threatens national reconciliation. What can the church do to reduce that gap between the rich and the poor and is the government addressing this problem?

Answer—We hope that such devolved funds and development resources as CDF and the now constitutionalized County Funds can help, if well managed. The Church should be deliberate in ensuring that this is the case. Churches should also mobilize resources to support sustainable projects

7) Question No 7 What are the major steps to make towards building a strong united nation, which is devoid of ethnic bias in political positioning?

Answer—Refer to answer number four

8) Question No 8 What should be our strategy to overcome any religious conflicts that may result to national disharmony?

The Church must continue to push for equitable treatment of all religions in Kenya. The Church is totally lacking in long term strategy to provide leadership to this nation. This is dangerous!

In a written response by Rev. Canon Peter Karanja, NCKK General Secretary responding to questions by Rev Geoffrey Njuguna on Thursday, 10 February 2011 regarding critical factors that threaten National reconciliation.

1. Question 1—What is the solution towards the challenge posed by the tribal vigilante/militia groups?

Answer—Disarming and disbanding them. Then, the people who form the vigilantes and militia groups must be punished by law so as to discourage them and others from forming similar groups in future. Remember that forming, arming or financing such groups is a crime under Kenyan law.

The recently passed organized Crimes Act has highly punitive measures for those found to be engaging in outlawed groups.

2. Question 2—Can the Kenyan church be able to hold the government accountable for the implementation of policies that enhance nationalism?

Answer—Yes. But the church itself must be nationalistic in its approach to policies. When the church presents a face of Kenya, then she will push the government to itself have a face of Kenya. It is hard for the church to push the government to have policies that enhance nationalism if church leaders are tribal in their preaching and comments.

Secondly as an advocacy agency the church ought to hold the government accountable to ensure that the Organized Crimes Act is fully implemented.

3. Question 3—How can we ensure that the differences among our political leaders will never plunge Kenya into a national crisis again?

Answer—Implementing and enforcing Chapter Six of the constitution.

Towards this, we should educate the people so that they also reject leaders who are bent on promoting crisis through their words and actions.

The church should also be in hand to preach peace amongst all communities. This way we ensure that Kenyans are empowered and aware of the consequences of listening to ethnic and divisive politics.

The church in Kenya should also be ready to release Christian men and women of integrity and worthy of leadership to vie for political offices. This will ensure that the interests of a majority of Kenyans and the Christians are safeguarded through integrity leadership.

4. Question 4—How can we address and overcome the problem posed by our vernacular media services being instrumental to negative ethnicity?

Answer—Enforce the law. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with tribes and ethnicity, it is only wrong when it is used to divide people and promote hatred, bitterness and violence. Actually, the vernacular media can be used to promote nationalism and patriotism. What is crucial is that the law is enforced to ensure that the media practitioners do not broadcast content that can bring hatred and scorn between ethnic communities. Self regulation of the media under the Media Council of Kenya seems to have failed and I believe it is time to review it and see how best to address the gaps.

5. Question 5—The issue of regional boundaries and land ownership has always created tension among our different ethnic groups, what is the solution?

Answer—Land ownership and use in Kenya is indeed one of the most critical issues of concern. It was one of the core elements that fired the drive for a new constitution. Regrettably, the new constitution did not categorically deal with the issue, but rather in some instances created more confusion. For example, the new constitution provides for the right of every Kenyan to settle anywhere in the country, yet goes ahead to recognize and protect “ancestral land” over which the ethnic

communities will have control. Does this mean that there are some areas in Kenya which will be intended for the benefit of only particular people? The solution to the land issue is a speedy formation of the National Land Commission to among other things spearhead an intensively consultative process of reviewing the issue of land ownership and use so as to come up with a new legal regime for the land sector.

At the moment, there is nothing that can be done with regard to the correlation between county boundaries and ethnicity. Recognizably, the districts in the past were drawn on ethnic/clan lines. The best way to safeguard against future ethnic tensions within and between counties will be the aggressive promotion of nationalism and patriotism.

6. Question 6—Research reveals that poverty creates discontent that threatens national reconciliation. What can the church do to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and is the government addressing this problem?

Answer—Poverty is at the core of the myriad of problems and challenges in the nation. Whereas the government keeps talking about poverty alleviation, reality is that poverty is increasing. This means that the government is not doing what is necessary to improve the lives of the people. Even the post election violence can be traced back to poverty.

On her part, the church should be in the forefront in educating the people so that they focus their lives on producing goods and services that are marketable and profitable, rather than just continuing with traditions. It is time the church came up with practical empowerment programs.

Secondly the church can fight poverty by providing channels through which the need for financial services by the people can be achieved. Our own microfinance SMEP DTM was formed for this initiative. So far we have disbursed about ksh.10 billion as loans. Recently SMEP was licensed by the Central Bank of Kenya to receive deposits from members. We will consequently be rolling out more products

across the country. Further, the church must stop associating poverty with godliness—and instead point out that Jesus wants people to have abundant life which is not feasible in an environment of abject poverty.

Question 7—What are the major steps to make towards building a strong united nation, which is devoid of ethnic bias in political positioning?

Answer—There will always be political positions based on ethnicity. The important thing is that political activity along ethnic communities must be elevated to reflect national values and common interests than division and undignified competition. The first step towards this is implementing Chapter Six of the constitution to secure integrity in leadership and promote nationalism and patriotism.

7. Question 8—What should be our strategy to overcome any religious conflicts that may result to national disharmony?

Answer—Uniting the country should be a deliberate effort of the church and church leaders. However for the leaders to unite the citizens they must themselves be united. Church leaders have a responsibility of remaining in fellowship with one another and developing biblical principles that they agree over as the basis of their unity while leaving space for independence and democracy in individual expression.

Like all other Kenyans, church leaders need to discuss frankly concerns that relate to ethnicity, political exclusions and all the negative undertones that lie latent in our society just to explode around elections. They ought to in their denominational and fraternal groups seek to gain insight over these matters and maintain an ongoing civic education in the church for a more cohesive church and nation.

Secondly the leaders should go a step further in calling for religious justice across the nation, unlike the current situation where the constitution appears to be favoring some religions.

APPENDIX F

COMPASSION INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR LESSON BY REV. NJUGUNA

These were **conference notes** by **Rev. Geoffrey Njuguna** during a “Compassion International” conference in April 2004 in Nakuru, for Pastors drawn from the region’s worst hit by the post election violence

SUBJECT: THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE PREVENTION OF CONFLICT AND HOSTILITY—TEXT: MATTHEW 5: 9; ROMANS 12: 9-10.

As we reflect on the things that we went through as a Country, in late December 2007 and early 2008 , it only confirms to us that a big percentage of our people have not embraced Christianity and the values we preach. It is even more disturbing to learn that some pastors got involved in the execution and management of the violence that rocked our beloved Nation.

I wish to submit to you that we need to ask ourselves very tough questions if we are going to be able to develop sustainable structures that will help the Church to prevent conflict. Some of my greatest questions are

- 1) What is our impact in society?**
- 2) Are we well versed with the causes of the conflict?**
- 3) Does the Church have the necessary capacity to prevent conflicts?**
- 4) Could it be true that some of us participated in the violence directly or indirectly?**

Let us examine a passage of scripture that states our duty as the body of Christ the Church. **Amos 5:24, “But let justice run down like water, And righteousness *like a mighty stream.*”** It is the responsibility of the Church to proclaim and teach the word of God throughout this Nation. The society that allows the truths of God’s word to penetrate every aspect of their culture must promote justice. Have we faithfully disciplined our Communities in the Word of God? **What happened in this Country early in January and February 2008 is an expression of a society that has turned its back on God and**

therefore what we must do as Churches is to conduct public repentances forums to solicit God's mercies and forgiveness.

What are some of the indicators of a godless society? Note the list which is not even exhaustive. We have seen this firsthand in Kenya

- 1) Social injustices 4) Corruption 7) Impunity**
- 2) Racism and tribalism 5) Oppression**
- 3) Immorality 6) Exploitation**

One of the major roles of the Church is to teach the fear of God. We need to teach the sacredness of human life and what judgment God has promised to bring upon those that shed innocent blood. Let us examine several passages from the book of Amos one of the Minor Prophets. **Amos 1:9, "Thus says the Lord, "For three transgressions of Tyre, and for four I will not turn away punishment, because they delivered up the whole captivity to Eden, And did not remember the covenant of brotherhood" Other reasons for punishment**

- 1) Verse 11, "...Because he pursued his brother with a sword"**
- 2) Verse 13, "...Because they ripped open the women with child in Gilead"**
- 3) Amos 2:4, "...Because they have despised the law of the Lord"**
- 4) Amos 2:6, "...Because they sell the righteous for silver, And the poor for a pair of sandals"**

Notice the passage in Genesis 4:10 – 12, and he said, "What have you done? The voice of your brother's blood cries out from the ground, Verse 11, "So now you are cursed from the earth, which has opened to receive your brother's blood from your hand." Verse 12, "When you till the ground, it shall no longer yield its strength to you. A fugitive and a vagabond you shall be on the earth"

As we think of what our role as Church leaders is in preventing conflict, I want us to consider some things we can do.

- 1) **Address the belief systems**—We need to educate Kenyans not to be deceived by politicians for their political interest. E.g. issues of poverty, land, jobs, constitution. Etc
- 2) **Advocate for dialogue or preventive diplomacy** (Keep the communication lines open) we need to encourage dialogue between elders and opinion leaders from our different ethnic groups to meet regularly and address issues of conflict.
- 3) **Open our Churches for peace building activities. Jeremiah 29:7. “And seek the peace of the city where I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray to the Lord for it; for in its peace you will have peace”**
We are all stakeholders of peace in this Nation
It has been established that many conflicts are the results of misunderstandings and communication breakdowns.
- 4) **Build cohesion that enhances peaceful co-existence**—It is regrettable for us to be described as people who are not cohesive, suggesting that we cannot stick together.

Conflicts occur when two opposing parties become incompatible. When people differ in their value systems, belief systems and political persuasions.

We need very decisive strategies that will ensure that the Rift Valley Province will not continue to be the center of conflict in every election. We know that the trend has been the same since the introduction of multi-parties in Kenya. We all know that in both 1992 and 1997 elections there were tribal clashes in this region. **We have a duty to defend the integrity of our Nation and to help it recover from the reproach we are still experiencing because of the IDP factor.**

One of our calling as Pastors and Church leaders as stated above is Preventive Diplomacy. We need to honestly evaluate our actions from late last year to early this year and establish why we failed to preempt the plans of violence before they were executed. If we did not know what was planned, what would stop the planners to do it again without our knowledge?

Our role is to put structure in place to prevent violence. For us to be able to do so, we must study the trends and determine our place of intervention. **What needs to be done to address conflicts before they erupt? We need to know how to detect the symptoms. Do we have good structure all over the Nation to ride on as we advocate for peace and reconciliation?**

I am also proposing that we do an inventory that will help us gauge our impact at the grassroots with a view of coming up with necessary strategies of strengthening our ability to prevent conflicts from maturing into violence. **We also need to assert our God given mandates as spiritual leaders towards our political leaders, so that they do not continue to create grounds of conflicts as we watch helplessly.** Violence is like bush fire which burns uncontrollably. If you start it, it gets out of your hands and you cannot even stop it at wish.

Rev. Geoffrey Njuguna—Senior Pastor

Deliverance church Langata.

APPENDIX G

DATA ANALYSIS

Q2.				Yes	No	Non-response	Total
Do you consider ethnicity to be a positive or a negative issue in our nation?				21	43		
Q3. Have you personally experienced negative ethnicity?				50	15		
Q4. How would you rate the following in relation to promoting negative ethnicity	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Non-response		Total
Quota educational system	26	22	11	5	2		65
Ethnic upbringing	25	26	8	4	3		65
Religious leaders	9	25	17	11	4		65
Vernacular radio stations	38	16	7	3	2		65
Political leaders	50	9	3	2	2		65
Mainstream media	6	32	18	7	2		65
Q5-12. Contributing to ethnic hostilities	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Non-response		66
Land ownership and distribution	39	20	3	2	2		65
High level of poverty	31	20	9	4	2		65
Inequitable distribution of national resources	39	16	10	1	Nil		65
Administrative boundaries	20	17	14	15	Nil		65
Illiteracy	20	15	25	6	Nil		65
Religious affiliation	6	22	25	13	Nil		65
Political affiliation	50	14	1	1	Nil		65
Widespread unemployment	27	31	6	2	Nil		66
Q 13-14				Yes	No		I don't know
Does church play a positive role in enhancing national reconciliation?				34	32		
How have the regional boundaries contributed to the ethnic hostilities in Kenya							
Q15 Would the redrawing of the administrative boundaries contributes towards reduced inter-ethnic conflict?				24	39		3
Q16 How would you rate the following in relation to preventing and eradication of ethnic conflicts in Kenya.	Most Important	Important	Not Important	Least Important	Non-Response		
Political will from our political leaders	49	7	Nil	Nil	10		
Divine intervention through prayers	33	18	2	2	11		
Involvement of religious groups in the process	30	22		3	11		
Educational level	24	25	3	1	13		

Economic stability	31	22	Nil	Nil	13
Media	34	17	2	Nil	13
Council of elders	23	15	8	4	16
Q17-25	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Q17 Economy less door dependant to enhance national reconciliation	10	18	21	15	2
Q 18-Politicians using ethnic identity for political expediency	48	13	1	3	1
Q 19-Corruption in public offices accelerates ethnic conflicts,	31	23	6	3	3
Q 20-Vigilante/militia groups are a hindrance to national reconciliation	34	18	7	5	2
Q 21—Poor implementation of government policies increases the gap between the rich and the poor	44	18	1	2	1
Q 22—Bad individual choices to blame for the gap between the rich and the poor	8	20	24	12	2
Q 23-Awareness of our rights and freedom creates our social/economic differences	8	22	25	8	3
Q 24-Eternal influence for political and economic interests antagonizes Kenyans	19	21	20	4	2
Q 25—Differences between Kenya's political leaders and power struggles is the worst obstacle to national reconciliation.	51	12	1	1	1

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